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X.—PASTORAL INFLUENCE IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

I. THE PASTORAL.

At first thought the word "pastoral" scarcely seems to require definition, yet, as a matter of fact, the word has been used in several different senses. Usually it has been employed to designate a distinct species of literature, but the more careful critics refer to it as a mode of literary expression. The latter view is undoubtedly more accurate, for the pastoral treatment may be applied to almost any form of literature,—lyric, drama or romance. Still it is convenient to speak of the pastoral as a species of literature, and this use of the term is not misleading if we understand it to refer to the literature which is written in the pastoral mode, and which is altogether free from, or only slightly affected by, other influences. The real difficulty is to state definitely the essential nature of the pastoral, its characteristics, and the motives which prompted men to produce it. Here again the critics disagree. Some seem to regard pastoral literature as a sincere expression of man's delight in rural simplicity and content; others as an artificial and insincere portrayal of imaginary rural life. Perhaps it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the pastoral; certainly a narrow view of the subject based on modern prejudice is utterly inadequate.

Pastoral literature professed to be a portrayal of rural life; therefore it is necessary to examine the methods used by various writers in depicting rural scenes and characters. The methods employed were either realistic, based on observation, or idealistic, based on imagination. As typical examples of the former may be cited Theocritus's *Idyl IV*, Herrick's *Corinna's Going A-Maying*, Worthsworth's *Michael*, and Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night*. The chief motive which prompts men to

write such poetry is a delight in the beauty of nature, joined with a feeling of sympathy and respect for whatever is noble, sincere and wholesome in the life of the lowly. Realistic portrayal of country life appeared only at rare intervals in former times because the poets, as a rule, were blind to nature's beauty and regarded the inhabitants of the country chiefly as subjects of ridicule. In modern times, however, this form has been cultivated most assiduously. The introduction of shepherds is of course purely accidental. It is, therefore, somewhat misleading to apply to this form the name pastoral. If it be necessary to classify these poems, would not the term "idyl" be more appropriate than "pastoral?"

Idealized portrayal of rural life results when a writer strives to leave out of his descriptions all that is rude, gross or commonplace. The chief motive which actuates men to write this kind of literature is a desire to escape from the complexity of city life with its vices and follies, and to refresh themselves with the simplicity and freedom of the golden age. Idealized portrayal of country life, though employed in classic times, flourished chiefly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy, Spain, France and England. This form was devoted mainly to shepherd or pastoral life, because shepherds were regarded as the most refined type of countrymen. Occasionally a poet would strive to idealize the life led by farmers or fishermen; but the attempt was regarded with little favor by the majority of the poets, and was severely censured by the critics.¹ Idealized portrayal of rural life, therefore, may be appropriately designated as pastoral literature. Some account of its origin and development is necessary in order to understand why in the later stages idealization was carried to such a preposterous extent.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find everywhere a well defined legend of primitive pastoral life which

¹ Cf. Fontenelle. *Poésies Pastorales, avec un traité sur la Nature de l'Eclogue*. Walsh. Preface to Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*.

The Guardian. Nos. 22, 23, 28, 30, 32.

was credited by the poets and their readers. It was, in reality, an offshoot of the legend of the "golden age," localized and defined by Theocritus. Though Theocritus placed his shepherds in Sicily, other poets selected Arcadia for their scene;¹ and finally the shepherd life of Arcadia became one of the most generally accepted traditions. According to this tradition, the Arcadians dwelt amid scenes of quiet rural beauty; they were free from toil (for sheep-tending was regarded as a life of leisure); they preserved simplicity of manners, and spent their time in love-making or in criticising the wickedness of the city. These were the chief elements of Arcadian life, and out of these elements the poets sought to construct their rural pictures. In the later stages of pastoral development, when the tradition began to be doubted, some of these elements were emphasized and others were subordinated or altogether omitted. If the rural scene and simplicity of manners were made prominent, the pastoral approached a realistic portrayal of rural life; if the shepherds' disgust of city life was emphasized the pastoral became satiric; if the shepherds' art in love-making was elaborated, the pastoral became simply amatory verse; finally, if the high honor of the shepherds' calling was exaggerated, the shepherd became something of an aristocrat with herdsmen and rustics beneath him in the social scale.

In other words pastoral life was idealized by the poets until it often lost all resemblance to actual shepherd life in Sicily or elsewhere. So the pastoral became in the end a mere mode of literary expression. In the words of Dean Church:—"Spenser and his contemporaries turn the whole world into a pastoral scene. Poetic invention required they thought a scene as far as possible from the realities where primary passions might have full play. The masquerade, when the poet's subject belonged to peace, was one of shepherds; when it was one

¹ Vergil, in his *Bucolica*, *Ecloga*, VII, speaks of Corydon and Thyrsis as "Arcades ambo." Sannazaro and Sidney also laid the scene of their romances in Arcadia.

of war and adventure, it was a masquerade of knight-errantry. But a masquerade was thought necessary to raise the composition above the trivialities of street, fireside, camp and court, to give it dignity and ornament, the unexpected results, the brightness and colour that belong to poetry. So the Elizabethan writers portrayed their thought under the imaginary rustics to whom everyone else was a rustic and lived among sheep-folds with a background of vales and downs and hills."¹

Pastoral literature, therefore, includes not only all forms of idealized country life based on primitive shepherd life in Sicily, Arcadia or elsewhere, but also much literature in which the characters represented are shepherds only in name, and in which the scene is rural only in a townsman's imagination.

The importance of the pastoral influence can scarcely be overestimated. It affected some of the greatest of the Greek and Latin poets, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries invaded all forms of literature in Italy, Spain, France and England. It took possession of the lyric, inspired the most famous of the romances, and even entered into the drama. But pastoral literature had powerful rivals, and gradually lost its hold upon the public. In Italy it degenerated into opera; in Spain it was overwhelmed by "picaresque literature;" in France it was brought into contempt by the affectations of petty writers; while in England, after maintaining an unequal struggle with the virile romantic drama, it was finally laughed out of existence by the burlesques of the eighteenth century.²

¹ English Men of Letters Series: *Spenser*, pp. 40, 41.

² In modern times the pastoral influence occasionally asserts itself, as is proved by the following sonnet written some years since by an English clergyman:

"When Daphnis comes adown the purple steep
From out the rolling mists that wrap the dawn,
Leaving aloft his crag-encradled sheep,
Leaving the snares that vex the dappled fawn,
He gives the signal for the flight of sleep,
And hurls a windy blast from hunter's horn
At rose-hung lattices, whence maidens peep
To glimpse the young glad herald of the morn.

So foreign is pastoral literature to modern methods of thought that we are sometimes at a loss to account for its former popularity. An age of reason and science finds difficulty in comprehending an age of imagination and poetry. Yet if we examine carefully the various characteristics which appear in pastoral literature we see that almost all were especially adapted to further its popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Take for example the introduction of supernatural characters and incidents, or of mythological allusions. Even as late as the days of the *Guardian* Steele writes :—"The theology of the Ancients is so very pretty that it were pity to change it." Not until the nineteenth century do we find a poet daring to write "Roll, happy earth, and bring the wished-for day."¹ In the sixteenth century the audience preferred, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds, towards Phoebus' mansion," even though they had as little belief in the beautiful myth as we have to-day. Therefore the Greek mythology was retained, and served to add poetic coloring to the speeches of English swains. Usually, supernatural characters did not appear in person but revealed their will by oracles. Yet pastoral writers made prodigal use of the supernatural ; sometimes merely for ornament, sometimes for tragic effect (as in the introduction of sorcery and witchcraft), and frequently to aid in the develop-

Then haply one will rise and bid him take
A brimming draught of new-drawn milk a-foam;
But fleet his feet and fain; he will not break
His patient fast at any place but home,
Where his fond mother waits him with a cake
And lucent honey dripping from the comb."

The Poems of Edward Cracroft Lefroy. N. Y., 1897.

¹ Tennyson's *Maud*. Tennyson, however, is not consistent, but often prefers the imaginative to the scientific view, as in the following passage from *The Princess* :

"Till the sun
Grew broader toward his death, and fell, and all
The rosy heights came out above the lawns."

ment of the plot. To a modern reader neither interest nor tragic effects can be obtained in this way,—even Shakespeare's witches no longer arouse the thrill of dread and horror which must have held an Elizabethan audience spell-bound,—but it is altogether probable that supernatural incidents and allusions aroused the deepest interest in a sixteenth-century reader, and certainly they did not create any impression of unreality.

The love of nature was another emotion to which pastoral writers appealed. This finds better expression in pastoral poetry than almost anywhere else in the literature of the time. Still it was nature portrayed by imagination, not from observation, and was moreover an extremely limited phase of nature, that cultivated and subdued by man. This is precisely the aspect of nature which appealed to the city dwellers who formed the audience for pastoral writers. The sublimity of mountain and ocean aroused only fear and terror; but a calm rural scene breathing quiet content and prosperity was regarded with the keenest delight. Even as late as Queen Anne's time Steele can truthfully write, "Pastoral poetry not only amuses the fancy most delightfully, but is likewise more indebted to it than any sort whatsoever. It transports us into a kind of fairyland, where our ears are soothed with the melody of birds, bleating flocks and purling streams, our eyes enchanted with flowery meadows and springing greens; we are laid under cool shades and entertained with *all the sweets and freshness of nature*."¹ This is the manner in which pastoral descriptions were regarded by the men of that time. Exact observation was not demanded as it is now by our scientifically trained senses: the pastoral writer might draw a scene from careless observation or imitate one from some classic writer without fear of the ornithologist or the botanist.

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the popularity pastoral poetry gained by making love its main theme. The love of man for woman, subordinated as it usually is in real life to parental or filial affection, to ambition and a host of

¹ *Guardian*, No. 22.

other emotions, has always been the main theme of all forms of literature.¹ In the sixteenth century pastoral, as in the most popular of nineteenth century novels, the supreme passion of lovers fills the whole canvas, and the popularity of one form explains the popularity of the other. Pastoral literature portrayed love in all its varieties. On this field were fought out the conflicting demands of passion and duty. Some pastoral writers like Fletcher and Milton depict chastity; others brand lust in the person of some satyr, or devote themselves to the portrayal of the highest spiritual love (exemplified by some faithful shepherd). The love scenes, however, seem to modern readers long, tedious and over-elaborated. Here again we recognize a change of taste; the modern audience weeps at flimsy, sentimental melodramas, the Renaissance audience preferred subtle analyses of the causes and effects of love, and witty or courtly disquisitions on its nature and scope. Many of us care for one as little as for the other, but it is perhaps pertinent to inquire whether our horror of the sentimental has not crushed out, to some degree, our power to appreciate true sentiment?

Doubtless another important reason for the popularity of pastoral literature is to be found in its marked poetic coloring. Poetry intrudes even into the domain of prose romance, not only appearing in frequent songs and lyrics, but often in an impassioned form of prose. In the early pastoral romances, such as Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, we find a very large admixture of verse. In fact all pastoral romance is instinct with the spirit of poetry and might better be classed as poetry than as prose. In the pastoral dramas, also, prose seldom occurs and if used is diversified with many songs. Oftentimes a dramatist would discard even blank verse, and write in a shorter

¹ The Stage is more beholding to *Love*, then the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is ever the matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies. But in Life, it doth much mischief: sometimes like a *Syren*; sometimes like a *Fury*.

Bacon's *Essays*, x, "Of Love."

and more lyrical measure as Fletcher did in the greater part of *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

In some cases the popularity of a pastoral was due to its hidden allegorical meaning. In the simplest form of allegory the characters personified some abstract quality; the surly shepherd prefiguring incivility or the wanton shepherdess, licentiousness. Sometimes a coarse pastoral loses all its grossness if we interpret the meaning aright. Very interesting in this connection is Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, in which Clorin, impossible and exasperating as a character in the play, becomes perfectly intelligible when regarded as the symbol of constancy or chastity; Cloe, also, whom even the wide sympathies of Charles Lamb could not tolerate, loses half her grossness if we regard her as an allegorical character. This tendency to allegorical scenes and characters, so stimulating to the readers of former times, has now almost died out of our literature and has been relegated to pulpit oratory, and the various forms of pictorial satire.

Sometimes a pastoral writer, instead of allegorical characters, introduced real characters or events under some easily penetrated disguise. In this way a poet defended or revealed himself or his friends, and his readers were interested in the interpretation of the allusions. This practise began with Theocritus, who in his seventh idyl introduces himself under the name of Simichidas, and was sanctioned by Vergil, who in his eclogues represents his own misfortunes under the names of Tityrus and Menalchus. Following their example, Tasso (Aminta) exposes his love for Leonore (Silvia), his resentment toward Sperone (Mopsa) and his desire to propitiate Pigna (Elpino). In like manner Montemayor (in the *Diana*) reveals his own misfortunes, and D'Urfé goes so far as to include almost all the court stories of love and intrigue in the various episodes of *Astrée*. It was also a very common practice to praise one's family or one's patron under the conventional pastoral disguise. Thus Sannazaro in many incidents of the

Arcadia refers to the misfortunes of his patron Frederick III, King of Naples.

It was an easy step from personal allusion to satire, and many pastorals won fame by the keenness of their satirical shafts. Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* is a most amusing satire on the court of King James. Many other pastoral dramatists and poets write with a marked satiric intent, sometimes mildly ridiculing certain court affectations and sometimes resorting to bitter invective against some vicious custom. When the satire is keen and is directed against matters deserving satire to-day we read it with relish, but usually the persons or customs satirized are remote from our modern interests. Nevertheless we can readily understand how the satiric element increased the former popularity of pastoral poetry, especially in its later stages.

Thus by splendor of poetic coloring, by idealized portrayal of rural scenes, by skilful use of the old myths, by subtle love-disquisitions, by personal allusion, satire or allegory, pastoral literature created and maintained its popularity. Moreover certain aspects of pastoral poetry which now directly repel us were looked upon by the sixteenth century audience with toleration or even with pleasure. For example the ever-present anachronisms. What had chronology to do with the eternally youthful Arcadian life which was conceived to spring up in the early history of any country. A critic who begins by pointing out carefully the anachronisms in pastoral literature will end by writing a log-book of the voyage of the Ancient Mariner. As a matter of fact pastoral writers allowed their imaginations free rein. If they chose they would mix Roman and Italian customs or Greek and Teutonic myths. In dramas, representing real life, we have some reason to be offended at the anachronisms carelessly introduced by Elizabethan playwrights, but surely in the visionary land of Arcadia we need not demand consistency and realism.

For the same reason we should be slow to condemn the improbable incidents in the pastorals which so often create an

air of unreality to modern readers. These were taken as a matter of course by an audience little given to analysis or criticism. This fact is abundantly proved by an examination of other departments of literature at the time. Nor is it at all improbable that in many cases a pastoral may have been intended for a burlesque and keenly appreciated as such by the readers. This is undoubtedly true of many of the later pastorals in England. The difficulty in forming a correct estimate as to certain pastorals is very great, and there is hardly a more amusing spectacle than a modern critic seriously and ponderously dissecting what was deliberately intended for burlesque or delicate raillery, and then explaining its absurdities by a reference to the childish credulity or vivid imagination of the Renaissance. The poets regarded Arcadia as a province in which their imagination was unfettered by terrestrial laws, and naturally their readers accepted this view without question. Oftentimes, also, a scene which seems to us utterly improbable was accepted and praised for its naturalness by the readers of the time. "Probability" we must remember is a relative term. No work of the imagination can be exactly true to life—nor ought it to be—for the function of art is to make idealized pictures seem real. The extent to which idealization can be carried before it leads to improbability and unreality varies with the age and even with different readers of the same age.¹

Perhaps the most objectionable characteristic of the pastoral writers is their slavish imitations. Not only were incidents and suggestions borrowed extensively, but direct plagiarism was not held a vice. The same names appear again and again. Sometimes a character is stolen, name and all; oftener, the conventional names are apparently distributed at random—Guarini's Corisca lives again in Fletcher's Cloe. Suggestions

¹ In this connection it is interesting to note different judgments in regard to the characters in Dickens's novels—how real they seem to some, how preposterous to others.

for the plot are appropriated with the greatest freedom,¹ and still more noticeable is the slavish borrowing of descriptions of nature. But here again we must remember how extensively writers in other branches of literature borrowed. There is this difference, however, when a dramatist like Shakespeare or Heywood borrowed, he ransacked history, epic, drama, prose fiction,—in fact everything he could lay hands upon, while a pastoral writer limited his thefts almost entirely to earlier pastorals. This explains why certain scenes and characters appear again and again. This habit of borrowing and re-borrowing tended, of course, to reduce the characters to types, such as the constant shepherd, the chaste shepherdess, the wizard, etc. This tendency to types, far from detracting from, probably added to, the popularity of pastoral literature in an age which delighted in such books as Overbury's *Characters*. As for the constant borrowing, the audience was accustomed to this in all branches of literature. The modern dictum of the critics that literature should display the national characteristics, should reflect the national life and the peculiar genius of a people, would have been received with utter astonishment during the period we are studying. So far from resenting plagiarism from the classics, men welcomed a clever paraphrase from the ancient authors and applauded a covert allusion, regarding it as a compliment to their own learning. We must remember that a cultivated Frenchman or Englishman of the sixteenth century admitted without question the superiority of the Greek, Latin and Italian literatures, and was glad to prop up the tender shoots of his own literature with the seasoned wood of the classics.

The employment of rustic dialect, a natural and artistic device, was rare among pastoral writers. Theocritus, to be

¹ To give only a few examples:—the incident of curing a bee's sting with a kiss appears in the romances of Tattius and Durfée, and in the pastoral dramas of Tasso and Rutter; Fletcher borrows the trial of chastity from Tattius, who in turn copied Heliodorus; Guarini borrows from Longus the device of hunting with dogs a person disguised in a wolf's skin.

sure, uses the Doric speech, Spenser makes his swains speak in a Northern dialect sprinkled with archaic words, and Ben Jonson in his *Sad Shepherd* used many rustic words and expressions; but aside from these writers we find almost no attempts to add local coloring of this kind. Nor is it much to be regretted; for dialect, unless used with great skill, introduces countless absurdities, and destroys the illusion. Modern realism has "gone mad" over dialect, but the Renaissance audience looked at it askance. It is doubtful whether pastoral poetry lost much intrinsically, it certainly lost nothing in popularity, by neglecting to use dialect.

Thus it was that pastoral literature gained and kept a foremost place in popular estimation. Its popularity, though based on standards of taste different from ours, was genuine and not affected, was widespread and not local, and historically is of great significance in tracing the development of literature along other lines.

II. SOURCES OF THE ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA.¹

The pastoral drama originated in Italy. Nowhere save in the land of its birth did it attain the popularity, either of the short pastoral poems or of the pastoral romances. In Italy, however, pastoral drama for two centuries held the highest place of honor. It arose very naturally from pastoral eclogues (many of which were in dialogue) and was cultivated assiduously in spite of the fact that the dramatic form is the least adapted for the representation of pastoral life. In a drama character and plot are the essential elements; but it was well-nigh impossible for a pastoral dramatist to construct either vivid characters or an interesting plot, because of the traditional limitations of his theme. In a drama, moreover, description of rural scenery, which formed one of the most pleasing characteristics of other forms of pastoral literature,

¹ This section of the essay, being foreign to the main line of investigation, has been gleaned from the usual authorities.

could not be introduced to any extent. Yet many of the characteristics of pastoral literature mentioned above (such as satire, allegory and personal allusion) do appear in the pastoral drama; and it is to these rather than to the plot and characters that the critic should direct his attention. In spite of the inherent difficulties in the construction of a pastoral drama, we find that the form was immediately welcomed by the Italian aristocracy. This popularity is not difficult to explain. The Italian gentry of Renaissance times had a deep-seated love for country life. They spent the greater part of their time in their beautiful country villas, and when called to town for business or pleasure they longed for rural scenes, and listened with delight to the idealized reflection of that life which they heard on the stage. Moreover, the regular Italian drama at the time was in a very rude and undeveloped stage. The classic tragedy had attained only equivocal success. "The dramatists did not know how to make kings talk, and their attempts in lower ranks of life were even more unsuccessful. Comedy, on the other hand, lived only among the bourgeois, and was given over to trivialities."¹ Failing to represent real life on the stage, the Italian writers turned their attention to the representation of ideal beings in an idealized manner. Passages from Sannazaro's *Arcadia* were on everyone's lips, and the dramatists saw an opportunity to please their audiences. In less than a century two hundred pastoral dramas appeared; but none approached the beauty of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. So the pastoral drama rapidly declined; it became more and more given to imitation; and finally was absorbed in the opera. In its imitative characteristic, the pastoral drama shared in the general tendency of Italian literature. Note how the later sonneteers were content to imitate over and over the masterpieces of the classic age.

It is not necessary for our purpose to mention these dramas in detail. The first was Poliziano's *Orfeo* (1472), "which

¹ F. Salfi, *Littérature Italien*, p. 114.

begins like an idyl and ends like a tragedy.”¹ This example was not followed by later pastoral dramatists who almost invariably adopted the form of tragi-comedy. Passing by the dramas of Beccaria and Aigente, we note as the next important work the famous *Aminta* of Torquato Tasso. This play was acted with great success at Ferrara in the year 1573. Eight years later it appeared in printed form, and immediately attained a wonderful popularity, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe. Its popularity in England is attested by reprints of the Italian editions, and by several translations into English, the first of which appeared as early as the year 1591.² Tasso’s *Aminta* had a most important influence on the English pastoral drama; and though it is so well known must be discussed at some length.

The story of the play is very simple, and the action is carried on by some half-dozen characters. In the prologue, Cupid appears in shepherd’s dress. He asserts his freedom from the control of Venus, who desires him to inspire only the courtiers with love, and states his intention of trying his arrows on the Arcadians. He confesses that he has wounded the shepherd Aminta, and promises in due time to pierce the heart of Silvia.

In the first scene, Silvia protests to her confidante, Daphne, that she desires not love but the chase. She mocks her friend’s pleading for the necessity of love. The next scene is in a way complementary, for in it Aminta tells his dear friend Thirsi that he will be constant to Silvia until death. Thirsi seeks to encourage him. After this the chorus appears, and sings the famous song, celebrating the Age of Gold.

¹ Ward, *History of the English Drama*, I, 581.

² This translation was made by Abraham Fraunce, who tried to construct an English poem by combining a translation of Tasso’s *Aminta* (as far as v, 2) with a translation of Thomas Watson’s *Amyntas*. The first complete translation was made by Henry Reynolds in 1628. See Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 404, 405, 438.

In the second act, evil enters in the person of the Satyr, who resolves to ravish Silvia as she bathes in the fountain. His plan is foiled by Aminta, who, sent to the fountain by the matchmaker Thirsi, finds Silvia bound naked to a tree. He releases her, but receives no word of thanks; for, overcome with shame, she flees from him into the secrecy of the forest. All join in the search, and at last one of the shepherdesses finds her veil torn and stained with blood. Aminta, not doubting that she has been slain by wild beasts, rushes madly away from his friends to seek relief in suicide. The chorus sings the praises of fidelity and a constant heart.

Silvia, who had escaped from the wolves, is found by Daphne, who tells her of Aminta's rash resolve. This arouses Silvia's pity, and, when a messenger appears and tells how Aminta has thrown himself from a precipice, she resolves to follow him to the other world. At this point, the chorus sings of love and death. Aminta, however, is saved by overhanging bushes, and all his sorrows are forgotten in the arms of Silvia. The play ends with a mocking choral song which celebrates easily-obtained love, far beyond that accompanied (as was Aminta's) with tears and suffering.

The drama is not to be judged by this simple story; it holds its position because of its beautiful lyric choruses, its subtle reasonings on love, and its revelation of Tasso's own love and opinions. Moreover, the play is full of personal allusions, some of which have already been commented upon (see p. 362).

The *Aminta* made the sylvan fable (as it was called) the fashion in Italy. "It was the first successful attempt to modernize the classic eclogue, and to fill it with romantic passion; its purity of style and harmony of verse; its fine lyrics and adaptations from the ancients, combined with its passionate love and delicate delineations procured for it many imitators."¹

But Tasso's effort was not destined to be unrivaled. In 1585 Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* was acted in Ferrara. This

¹ Nannucci, *Literatura Italiana*, p. 120.

play is not an imitation of Tasso's, but a rival; and it attained to equal fame. Guarini's drama is far less simple than Tasso's masterpiece. He increases the number of characters, maintains a kind of underplot and in many ways elaborates his theme. The prologue is delivered by the god of the river, Alfeo, instead of by Cupid, and is devoted to the praises of Arcadia.

At the opening of the play, we find Arcadia filled with mourning, because of Cynthia's wrath. Without entering into the causes of this, or the various measures taken by the Arcadians to appease the goddesses, it is sufficient to mention the final oracle which declared that all would be well when two of divine race should, of their own will, unite in love, and when a faithful shepherd should atone for the sins of a faithless nymph. The play is devoted to the fulfilment of this oracle. The priests plan for a union between Sylvio, descended from Hercules, and Amarillis, descended from Pan. But to the perplexity of all Sylvio refuses love and devotes himself to the chase, while Amarillis falls in love with her faithful lover, Mirtillo. Corisca, a wicked nymph, who is jealous of Amarillis plans to bring disgrace upon her, by beguiling her into a cave with a shepherd named Coridon. Her plan, however, miscarries; for Mirtillo, seeing Amarillis enter the cave, thinks she has become false to him, and rushes in to punish her. Here the two are discovered before the laggard Coridon arrives. By the law of the land Amarillis, having violated her troth-plight to Sylvio, must die. Mirtillo offers himself as a substitute, and is saved only by the discovery that he is really of divine race and his true name is Sylvio. This being the case, it is decided that Amarillis has not violated her troth-plight to Sylvio (for that is Mirtillo's real name), and that their marriage will fulfil completely the oracle. The underplot is taken up with the wooing of the huntsman Sylvio by Dorinda, who finally wins his love.

On the whole, the plot is skilfully constructed, and has interest if judged merely from the point of view of a play-

wright. The choruses, though inferior to those in the *Aminta*, have very great beauty. There is considerable personal allusion and satire in the play, also much refined analysis of love in all its phases.

Il Pastor Fido held the stage for a long time, and when published went through twenty editions in twelve years. It became the accepted model of the English pastoral dramatists, who imitate both its general spirit and many details. The first English translation, by Charles Dymock, appeared in the year 1602, and several others followed, the best of which was Fanshawe's, published in 1647.¹

None of the later Italian pastoral dramas attained to the fame of the *Aminta* and *Il Pastor Fido*, nor do they appear to have had any marked influence on the development of the English pastoral drama. The Italian poets were content to copy and imitate Tasso and Guarini, and most of the English dramatists followed their example.

Yet the English pastoral drama is not to be regarded merely as an offshoot of the Italian. Several pastoral plays were constructed by the English playwrights from materials borrowed from pastoral romances,—Italian, Spanish, French or English; a few dramas were based on current pastoral traditions; and a very small number of plays appear to have been constructed from original plots.

III. ENGLISH PLAYS AFFECTED, BUT NOT DOMINATED BY THE PASTORAL INFLUENCE.

In order to trace the extent of pastoral influence in the English drama, it will be necessary, not only to make some analysis of the elements entering into each play considered, but especially to note the general spirit or "atmosphere" of

¹ Many references attest the admiration felt by English writers for Guarini's drama. As late as the time of Isaac Walton we find Guarini cited to prove that dignity is not necessarily absent from a playwright. See Walton's *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, p. 84. London, 1864.

the play. If the pastoral element predominates so that it colors the whole play, the drama may be said to have the pastoral atmosphere, and may be classified as a pastoral drama.¹ If, on the other hand, the pastoral atmosphere is obscured by the introduction of other elements, the play does not strictly deserve to be termed a pastoral drama. A free combination of elements was the practice of the more skilful playwrights and undoubtedly led to the production of more interesting plays—for pastoral scenes and characters are restricted within too narrow a range for the best comedy, and when employed in tragedy they fail to stir the deeper emotions. On the other hand this introduction of elements foreign to the pastoral spirit oftentimes disturbs the general effect and brings in irritating incongruities. The dramatists, however, who used this method followed the example of the writers of pastoral romance, who frequently mingle pastoral with non-pastoral elements. In the English drama the chief elements combined with the pastoral were (1) the “mythological” element, concerned with the gods and goddesses of the Greek theology; (2) the “forest” element, bringing in outlaws and hunters; and (3) the “court” element, introducing kings and courtiers. Each of these elements brings with it a characteristic atmosphere, which in each case is distinct from the pastoral atmosphere. For example, a drama in which the Greek gods and goddesses play the principal rôles transports us immediately into a supernatural realm, and we judge the play by peculiar standards, usually seeking for some underlying allegory or allusion. The Elizabethan dramatists did not favor such plays as these, but John Lyly wrote one play at least, *The Woman in the Moon*, which belongs in this class. Here we are in the dawn of history; we witness the creation of

¹ This seems on the whole the best basis of classification; for the pastoral was a foreign influence of peculiar nature, and almost all attempts to combine it with other influences violate artistic unity. Other elements, however, combine without incongruous effects, as the court and camp in *All's Well That Ends Well*.

the first woman, Pandora, and no scene nor character is brought in which interferes with the general impression of primitive times when gods and goddesses associated familiarly with mankind. In other words, the atmosphere of the play is consistently mythological. This is distinct from the Arcadian atmosphere; for in Arcadia supernatural beings do not appear in bodily form, but express their will by oracles and seers. Both mythological and pastoral plays give an impression of unreality, but this results in the former from the impossibility of the episodes, in the latter from their improbability. Two English dramas have come down to us which combine mythological and pastoral coloring, viz., *The Arraignment of Paris*¹ and *The Maydes Metamorphosis*.²

In Peele's play, the pastoral influence gently and naturally insinuates itself for the scene is laid "in Ida Vales," where the gods and goddesses roamed in company with shepherds and shepherdesses. Pan, the god of shepherds, and Paris a shepherd under the protection of Venus, cannot of course be termed Arcadians, but they suggest Arcadia. C  none, however, as well as Colin, Thestylus, Hobbinel, Diggon and Thenot are genuine Arcadians. The other characters are gods and goddesses, and bring with them the mythological atmosphere. The extent of the pastoral influence will appear from an examination of the plot. A brief prologue introduces Ate, who tells how she has brought the fatal apple from the golden tree of Proserpine and has cunningly left it in "Ida Vales." In the first scene the goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus are given presents by Pan, Faunus, Silvanus and Pomona. Up to this point no trace of pastoral influence appears. In the next scene, however, C  none implores Paris to remain true to her and with him she sings what may be termed a pastoral eclogue.

¹ *The Arraignment of Paris, A Pastorall*. Presented before the Queen's Maiestie by the Children of her Chappell. Imprinted at London . . . , 1584.

² *The Maydes Metamorphosis*. As it hath been sundrie times acted by the children of Powles. London . . . , 1600.

The second act is devoted to the dispute between Juno, Pallas and Venus about the golden apple, and the decision of Paris in favor of Venus. It is needless to say there is nothing pastoral in this act.

The third act opens with Colin's song, bewailing his unrequited love. Then three shepherds discuss the nature of love in true pastoral style. At the close of the scene Mercury appears and overhears C  none's lament (a pastoral lyric). He tells her he is come to fetch Paris before Jove's throne. This scene is mainly pastoral. Scene second also is to be classed as pastoral, for it contains the account of the death of Colin (who is unmistakably a faithful shepherd in Arcadian parlance), the dirge sung over his body, and the punishment of his scornful mistress Thestylis. The last part of the scene is not pastoral, for it contains only Mercury's conversation with Venus.

The last two acts of the play are in no sense pastoral,—Paris defends himself before the gods, and Diana, charged with the responsibility of determining "who is the fairest," renders a decision in favor of Eliza (Queen Elizabeth). To summarize:—about one-third of the play is pastoral, namely, Act. I, Sc. 2, Act III, Sc. 1, and part of Act III, Sc. 2.

There are several things to be noted about this play; first, that Peele on the title-page termed the play "a pastorall." This merely shows with what vagueness the term was used by the dramatists, or perhaps it may have been added by the printer to tempt readers. At this early date the influence of the Italian pastoral drama had not penetrated into England, and the mythological and pastoral elements were confounded. Still it must be admitted that Peele has combined them with great skill. He has given us, as it were, a picture of primitive Arcadian life when gods and goddesses conversed familiarly with shepherds. In the next play to be considered, the two elements were welded together with far less art.

The Maydes Metamorphosis resembles *The Arraignment of Paris* in nothing save the blending of mythological and pas-

toral elements. No sources of the play have been discovered, the author is unknown, and the date when the play was first acted is still in doubt.¹ About one-third of the play is pastoral, as will appear from an analysis of the plot. The prologue is apologetic, stating the author's "good intent" and beseeching attention to the play. Nothing is said as to the author's intention to write a pastoral drama, and probably such a thought never entered his mind.

The first scene contains the conversation between Eurimene (the heroine) and her hired murderers. They tell her that they have been commanded to murder her because she has inspired the Duke's son Ascanio with love. By her entreaties she softens them, and they kill a goat and dye her veil in its blood. Then, taking this proof of her death, they abandon her in the forest. This scene contains nothing pastoral.

In the next scene Silvio, a ranger, and Gemulo, a shepherd, find Eurimene and offer to protect her. They tell her of the joys of their respective callings. She ends the contention by accepting a cottage from one and a flock of sheep from the other. This scene is in the pastoral mode.

In the second act, Ascanio sends his page, Jocolo, to search for Eurimene. Meanwhile he lies down and bewails his fate. A drowsiness steals over him, and while he sleeps Juno and Iris appear. The rest of the act concerns Juno, Iris, Somnus and Morpheus. At the end fairies are introduced. Nothing in the second act suggests pastoral influence.

At the opening of the third act, Apollo discourses with the three Charities, who seek to find out the cause of his grief. After their departure, he confesses that his melancholy is caused by love for Eurimene. Next follows his wooing of Eurimene, and her request for a boon. Apollo vows to fulfil anything she may ask, but to his consternation she requests to be unsexed, to be changed from maid to man. Apollo, perforce, grants her request. The act closes with the visit of

¹ For a discussion of the authorship and date, see Baker, *Endimion* Introduction.

Joculo to the seer Aramanthus, and the latter's prophetic utterance. In this whole act there is nothing pastoral, though of course the seer Aramanthus suggests similar characters in pastoral literature.

The first part of the fourth act, containing the conversation of Ascanio, Joculo and the Echo, is in the pastoral mode; as is also the visit to Aramanthus. Afterwards, Silvio and Gemulo, both in love with Eurimene, agree to accept her decision. Eurimene (now a boy) meets them and tells them that she is Eurimene's brother and that Eurimene has disappeared. This act has throughout a pastoral coloring.

In the fifth act we have the extraordinary wooing of Ascanio and Eurimene, in which Eurimene confesses her manhood. The seer advises them to go to Apollo and pray that Eurimene's womanhood be restored. News comes from court that the Duke has pardoned Ascanio and Eurimene, and longs to see them united. All go to Apollo's palace and the muses intercede for Eurimene. Apollo consents and crowns their happiness by revealing that Eurimene is the long lost daughter of the seer Aramanthus. In the end Silvio and Gemulo depart forlorn and Apollo sings the closing song. Some of the incidents in this act suggest pastoral influence, but the general impression is not pastoral.

The whole play is a curious blending of diverse elements, pastoral, mythological, fairy and others. Only four of the characters could possibly be termed pastoral,—Silvio, a pastoral ranger;¹ Gemulo, a shepherd; Aramanthus, a seer (who

¹ Silvio, though called a ranger, has no kinship with English foresters, but is a true Arcadian. This is sufficiently clear from his speech in the first act:—

“*Diana*, with her bowe and arrows keene,
Did often use the chase in Forrests greene,
And so, alas, the good Athenian knight,
And swifte *Acteon* herein tooke delight,
And *Atalanta*, the Arcadian dame,
Conceived such wondrous pleasure in the game
That with her traine of Nymphs attending on,
She came to hunt the Bore of Calydon.”

Old English Plays. Ed. Bullen, I, p. 113.

supplies the place of the oracle), and Eurimene who lives for a time as a shepherdess.

Several plays of John Lyly are often referred to as pastoral, and still oftener are said to combine mythological and pastoral elements. Moreover, *Love's Metamorphosis* is termed on the title-page, "A witty and courtly pastorall." But Lyly, like Peele, has a faint conception of the traditional Arcadian life. His placing the scene in Arcadia, has no more significance than his choice of Lincolnshire for the scene of *Gallathea* or of Utopia for *The Woman in the Moon*. These three plays have the same atmosphere and it is foreign to pastoral tradition. Lyly apparently had no intention of representing pastoral life in Arcadia: none of his plays contain genuine pastoral characters, and very few pastoral scenes occur.¹ Most of Lyly's plays are to be classed as mythological or allegorical. If we are to term them pastoral we must broaden the definition of pastoral beyond all reason. Lyly appears to have had a peculiar definition of his own for pastoral, and even when tried by this test none of his plays are pastoral.²

We come next to a consideration of the dramas which mingle pastoral characters with huntsmen and foresters. No drama preserves consistently the true forest atmosphere unless it may have been the play of *Robin Hood and Little John*, which is not extant.³ The forest atmosphere is distinct from the pas-

¹ The characters of Tyterus and Melebeus in *Gallathea* may possibly be termed pastoral. The pastoral scenes are in *Love's Metamorphosis*: I, 1, 2; III, 1; IV, 1.

² "At our exercises, souldiers call for tragedies, their object is bloud; courtiers for comedies, their object is love; countrymen for pastorals, sheepheards are their saints,"—prologue to *Midas*. This observation is curious in two respects. The date of *Midas* is 1588-9, and up to this time no English drama containing pastoral characters had appeared except Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Must we conclude that pastoral dramas existed then which have been lost? Secondly, countrymen are not fond of pastorals, either in the form of romance or drama, for pastorals are the delight of city-dwellers. Probably the truth of the matter is that Lyly thoughtlessly inserted this allusion to fill out the antithesis.

³ We have only a glimpse of this forest life in Munday's *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, and the sequel, *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*.

toral, because one represents a desire to secure freedom from tyrannical laws, the other freedom from court intrigue and the complexity of city life. The forest element, moreover, never became conventionalized. It was English and Teutonic to the core. Two plays alone combine forest and pastoral scenes and characters, Shakespeare's *As You Like It*¹ and Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*. In Shakespeare's play there are of course other elements beside the "forest" and the "pastoral." The first act has the "court" atmosphere. This act, however, is short, and constitutes a kind of introduction to the main action, which takes place in the forest. *As You Like It* was written about the year 1599, and the *Sad Shepherd* at least fifteen years later.²

To determine the extent of pastoral influence in *As You Like It*, it will be necessary to examine the sources. Lodge's *Rosalynde*, the direct source and probably the only one,³ may be regarded as an attempt to treat an old story in the pastoral mode. Lodge retained the bare outline of the *Tale of Gamelyn*, but obliterated all traces of the forest and substituted the pastoral atmosphere. The following table contains a list of

¹ In no other play of Shakespeare's does any considerable pastoral element enter. Part of two scenes of *The Midsummer Night's Dream* (I, 1, and II, 2) are unmistakably pastoral. In *The Winter's Tale*, however, the pastoral element borrowed from Greene's *Pandosto* is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would ever speak of Perdita as an Arcadian? In all probability Shakespeare realized how little dramatic power existed in the pastoral theme, and was too wise to risk the experiment of writing a true pastoral drama.

² Mr. Fleay identifies *The Sad Shepherd* with *The May Lord*, which must have been written before 1619, for Jonson mentioned it to Drummond when he visited him in that year. Whether this identification be substantiated or not, internal evidence seems to point to about this period for the date of composition. *The Sad Shepherd* was first printed in the folio of 1641.

³ "There is no evidence in *As You Like It*, which is to me at all conclusive that Shakespeare drew any the smallest inspiration from *The Tale of Gamelyn*." H. H. Furness, Appendix to *As You Like It*, *Variorum Ed.*

Lodge, on the other hand, undoubtedly read the *Tale of Gamelyn*.

the characters in *Gamelyn*, *Rosalynde*, and *As You Like It*, the pastoral characters being italicized :—

TALE OF GAMELYN.	ROSALYNDE.	AS YOU LIKE IT.
Sir John of Burdeaux.	Sir John of Bourdeaux.	Sir Roland de Bois.
His sons { Johan,	{ <i>Saladyne</i> ,	{ <i>Oliver</i> ,
{ Ote,	{ Fernandine,	{ Jacques,
{ Gamelyn.	{ <i>Rosader</i> .	{ Orlando.
Adam, the spencer	Adam Spencer	Adam.
(a young steward).	(an old servant).	
The outlawed king.	Gerismond.	Duke, Senior.
Wrestler.	The Norman, a wrestler.	Charles, the wrestler.
	Torismond	Duke
	(King of France).	(the usurper).
	<i>Rosalynde</i> .	Rosalind.
	<i>Alinda</i> .	Celia.
	<i>Montanus</i> .	<i>Sylvius</i> .
	<i>Coridon</i> .	Corin.
	<i>Phoebe</i> .	<i>Phoebe</i> .
		Amiens.
		Jacques.
		Le Beu.
		Touchstone.
		William.
		Audrey.
		Sir Oliver Mar-text.

From an examination of the separate scenes or episodes, we find that *The Tale of Gamelyn* preserves throughout the forest atmosphere. The action takes place in three localities; Sir Johan's house, the market-place (where the wrestling occurs), and the neighboring forest. This wood is Sherwood forest, the nameless "maister outlawe" is evidently Robin Hood, and Gamelyn is "Young Gammell," nephew of Robin Hood, in the ballad of *Robin Hood and the Stranger*.¹ No trace of

¹ "I rede that we to wode goon . ar that we be found,
Better is us ther loos . than in town y-bounde."

pastoral or "court" influence is to be found in the poem. These were added by Lodge, being invented by him or borrowed from some unknown source.

The action in *Rosalynde* is located at Sir John's house, at the tilting-ground (where the wrestling takes place in presence of the court), and in the "Forrest of Ardenne." Sir John's sons are metamorphosed into courtiers (Rosader "vailed bonnet to the king, and lightly leapt into the lists"). Moreover, several "court" characters are added, chief among them being Rosalynde and Alinda (Shakespeare's Celia). This gives to the first part of the romance a distinct "court" coloring. But fully three-fourths of the story takes place in the "Forrest of Ardenne." Lodge makes this an Italian pastoral forest inhabited by true Arcadians. Montanus and Phoebe sing sonnets, and Montanus and Corin recite eclogues; the disguised shepherd Rosader (Shakespeare's Orlando) makes love to the disguised shepherdess Rosalynde in a "wooing eclogue." For the king of outlaws in Gamelyn is substituted the King of France. This change is not important, for the king takes little part in the plot, and is neither a pastoral nor forest character.

The scene in *As You Like It* is mainly "forest." This is accomplished by bringing into prominence the exiled Duke and his companions. They live the life of outlaws, not of shepherds. In this forest environment Silvius and Phoebe become sadly out of place. In a word, Lodge's Forrest of Ardenne is Arcadia; Shakespeare's is Sherwood. But what shall be said of the lovers, Oliver and Celia, Rosalind and

"Our maister is i-crowned . of outlawes kyng."

l. 660.

[Tidings came to the master outlaw]

"That he shoulde come hom . his pees was i-mad."

l. 689.

"Tho was Gamelyne anon . without tarrying,
Maad maister outlawe . and crowned here kyng."

l. 694.

See also *Tale of Gamelyn*: Introduction by W. W. Skeat.

Orlando? In Lodge's romance we have seen how these characters became purely conventional pastoral characters from the moment they entered the forest. Not so in Shakespeare. Celia, neither by word nor action reveals that she is a shepherdess, or desires to become one. She buys a sheep-fold simply to elude pursuit. In the character of Oliver, Shakespeare greatly reduced the pastoral coloring. His prototype, the courtier Saladyne, becomes a shepherd for Alinda's (Celia) sake, and woos her in true pastoral style, but Oliver's wooing is omitted entirely from *As You Like It*, and only briefly referred to by Oliver in conversation with Orlando and by Rosalind in her famous speech, "They no sooner met but they look'd; no sooner look'd but they lov'd; no sooner lov'd but they sigh'd; no sooner sigh'd but they asked one another the reason; no sooner knew the reason, but they sought the remedy" (V, 2). Yet Oliver, though a minor character, must be counted an Arcadian. In the end he says to Orlando, "My father's house, and all his revenue, that was old Sir Rowlands, will I estate upon you, and here live and die a Shepherd" (V, 2). Orlando, generally, and Rosalind, always, are free from pastoral taint. When Orlando hangs sonnets on the trees and soliloquizes, "Hang there my verse in witness of my love" (III, 2); when he battles with the lioness and conquers her, then we recognize the pastoral element. Rosalind, however, never adopts the pastoral tone, nor does she bear the faintest trace of the Arcadian. Corin, a typical Arcadian in Lodge's story, is naturalized by Shakespeare into a rural character, an English shepherd. "Sir, I am a true labourer; I earn that I eat, get that I wear, etc." (III, 2). In only two important characters, Silvius and Phoebe, does Shakespeare preserve the full pastoral coloring. Finally, not one of the new characters introduced by Shakespeare bears the stamp of Arcadia.¹

¹ By the most liberal allowance the pastoral scenes and episodes in *As You Like It* include only the following:—The conversation between Corin and Silvius, and the purchase of the sheep-farm by Rosalind and Celia, II,

In general we may say that Shakespeare subordinated the pastoral element as much as possible, and brought back the true forest atmosphere which Lodge had entirely omitted. In all probability Shakespeare did this consciously in order to make a better play. He may have done it unconsciously by allowing free rein to his Teutonic nature. At any rate the means he used to subordinate the pastoral element is interesting: (1) by expanding the court scenes from Lodge, and adding Le Beu and the clown; (2) by making prominent the forest life of the royal outlaws (which is barely touched upon by Lodge), and adding Amiens and Jacques; (3) by introducing real rustics, Corin, William and Audrey, to take the place of shepherds; (4) by condensing pastoral episodes and descriptions, and decreasing the number of pastoral lyrics (Lodge has eighteen, Shakespeare only three); (5) by assigning only a few speeches to Sylvius and Phoebe (these are typical pastoral characters, and are given an important part in Lodge's *Rosalynde*); (6) by replacing the long pastoral wooing between Saladyne (Oliver) and Alinda (Celia) with an indirect reference of a few lines; (7) by giving an air of parody to Orlando's wooing of Rosalind (in other words, making them natural characters who burlesque pastoral wooing). Therefore, *As You Like It*, though it exhibits strong pastoral influence, and contains some pastoral scenes and characters, does not give a final impression of pastoral—it has not the Arcadian atmosphere. This explains why most of the critics have been loath to class it among pastoral dramas.¹

4; Orlando's soliloquy and his sonnets, III, 2; Corin's speeches, III, 4; the dialogues between Sylvius and Phoebe, III, 5; between Orlando and Rosalind, IV, 1; between Sylvius and Rosalind, and between Oliver and Celia, IV, 3; the whole of V, 2; and finally the conversation of Rosalind, Orlando and the Duke, and of the second brother and the Duke, V, 4.

¹ "*As You Like It* is the most ideal of any of this author's plays. It is a pastoral drama in which the interest arises more out of the sentiments and characters than out of the actions or situations."—Hazlitt.

"Less fascinating than Shakespeare's other comedies. The dramatist has presented us with a pastoral comedy, the characters of which, instead

Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, however, has been termed by almost all the critics a pastoral drama, notwithstanding the fact that the forest element predominates, and the scene is Sherwood not Arcadia. Unfortunately the drama has come down to us in unfinished form. Out of one thousand lines less than four hundred are devoted to pastoral episodes or dialogues. The remaining lines, recounting the hunting of the stag, the conversations of the witch and her son, the allusions to forest superstitions and the final search for the witch by Robin Hood and his merry crew: these certainly give to the play the atmosphere of the forest. We have seen how Shakespeare subordinated and almost obliterated the pastoral element he found in Lodge. Ben Jonson on the other

of belonging to an ideal past age, are true copies of what nature would produce under similar conditions."—Halliwell.

"Phoebe is quite an Arcadian coquette; she is a piece of pastoral poetry; Audrey is only rustic. A very amusing effect is produced by the contrast between the frank and free bearing of the two princesses in disguise and the scornful airs of the real shepherdess."—Mrs. Jameson.

"For vigorous natures, temporarily out of tune, the poet offers a wholesome medicine throughout this airy romantic life, which, however, is not to be regarded as the sentimental ideal of a normal condition which has been overwhelmed and lost in society. What the shepherds and shepherdesses in conventional pastoral poetry really are (without intending to appear so), namely, fugitives from a false social condition enjoying for a while a sort of masquerade and picnic freedom—in place of such, Shakespeare gives us honest and true his romantic dwellers in the forest of Ardenne. And this is the very reason why he catches the genuine tone of this careless, free, natural existence, which, in the case of the ideal shepherds of the Spanish, French or Italian writers, is cabined and confined by merely another form of artificial intercourse. . . . The genius of the British poet rises above the conventional forms of the South which it had borrowed, and many of the scenes of this comedy are transformed into a diverting parody of the sentimentalism of pastoral poetry."—F. Kreyssig, *Vorlesungen*, etc., Vol. III, p. 243, Berlin, 1862.

"Such a life as Rosalind led in the Forest . . . is to the German mind well-nigh incomprehensible, and refuge is taken, by some of the most eminent Germans, in explanations of the 'Pastoral Drama' with its 'sentimental unrealities' and contrasts," etc.—H. H. Furness, *The Variorum Shakespeare, As You Like It*, p. viii.

hand wove together the two threads, pastoral and forest, apparently regarding them of equal importance and seeing no incongruity in the combination. The title-page (in the folio) is significant—*The Sad Shepherd, A Tale of Robin Hood*. The characters, moreover, are divided into two nearly equal groups, the pastoral group headed by Aeglamour and Earine, the forest group by Robin Hood and Maid Marian. In general the pastoral incidents serve as an underplot, utterly foreign in spirit to the main plot, yet interwoven in such a way as to show Jonson's skill in plot-construction at its best. The underplot is consistently pastoral throughout, Aeglamour, Karolin, and the rest are Arcadian shepherds in every word and action. The main plot, so far as its incidents are concerned, is consistent with the forest traditions; but here and there in descriptive passages the classical coloring so inseparable from Jonson's work somewhat mars the general "forest" effect. When the plots intermingle, and foresters and Arcadians appear together on the stage, the effect is necessarily incongruous. But Jonson has constructed an interesting and in the main an original plot, and has expressed it in such exquisite poetry that many critics do not perceive that he failed in the task he set himself. This was to transplant the pastoral into English soil. To do this a poet must idealize English shepherd life.¹ Jonson, on the other hand, merely took the foreign Arcadian shepherds and tried to make them English by transporting them to Sherwood Forest, and making them guests of Robin Hood. In this connection it is interesting to note Jonson's own idea of a pastoral which he gives in the prologue to *The Sad Shepherd*. After defending his introduction of mirth into a pastoral, he condemns those who claim "that no style of pastoral should go Current, but what is stamped with Ah! and O!" and adds indignantly,

¹ The nearest approach to such portrayal is Allan's Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, but even here realism enters so largely that the term pastoral drama is somewhat inappropriate.

"As if all poesie had one character In which what were not written, were not right." Evidently there was a feeling abroad when Jonson wrote, that clownish mirth was inconsistent with the seriousness and dignity of Arcadian life.¹ But the pastoral writers occasionally introduce comic scenes and Jonson's practice therefore was not altogether an innovation. Certainly no one now would condemn him for introducing comedy. Jonson's condemnation of the use of the exclamations Ah! and O! is quite as sensible (though this sounds like a direct hit at Daniel² rather than a general attack on writers of pastorals.) Finally Jonson's remark about the rules of the critics which condemn all that departs from traditional practice, is a well-merited rebuke. However it does not apply to the criticism made against Jonson; we do not condemn his innovation because it is an innovation, but because it brings in irritating incongruities. This has been noted by Mr. Swinburne in his *Study of Ben Jonson*. "A masque included also an anti-masque, in which the serious part is relieved and set off by the introduction of parody and burlesque: but in a dramatic attempt of higher pretention this intrusion of incongruous contrast is a pure barbarism—a positive solecism in composition. The collocation of such names and such figures as those of Aeglamour and Earine with such others as Much and Maudlin, Scathlock and Scarlet is no whit less preposterous or less ridiculous, less inartistic or less irritating than the conjunction in Dekker's *Satiromastix* of Peter Flash and Sir Vaughan of Ross, with Crispinus and Demetrius, Asinius and Horace, and the offense is graver,

¹ Drummond of Hawthorndon voices this opinion in his *Conversations*, p. 224: "Jonson (in his play) bringeth in clowns making mirth and foolish sports, contrary to all pastorals.

² In Daniel's pastoral play, *Hymen's Triumph*, "Ah" and "O" are used so frequently as to become a mannerism well deserving of censure. See II. 167-171, 386, 401, 402, 410, 414, 639, 674, 718, 749, 1109, 1124, 1214, 1322, 1419, 1428, 1518-9, 1535, 1645, 1654, 1703, 1734.

more inexcusable and more inexplicable in a work of pure fancy or imagination than in a satiric play."¹

A large number of plays combine pastoral and court scenes. Real kings and queens, real lords and ladies converse intimately with the Arcadian swains and nymphs, or more commonly the introduction and conclusion of a play is given up to court scenes and characters, and the main part of the action is carried on in Arcadia. The general custom of the playwrights was to take a pastoral romance, and either to cut out altogether the pastoral scenes or to change them beyond recognition; then to construct a play out of the remaining court episodes. So it happened that many plays, though taken from pastoral sources and carelessly termed pastoral dramas by the critics, really preserve absolutely the atmosphere of the court. The distinction between the court and the pastoral atmospheres is sufficiently obvious. The former appears in plays where the characters are drawn from observation or from Italian models; they are real courtiers in the real court environment. When, however, a courtier disguises himself as an Arcadian, when he seeks the company of shepherds and speaks and acts like an Arcadian, then to all intent and purposes he is a pastoral character. In most of the plays combining court and pastoral element the former predominates.

Three plays contain court and pastoral elements, Henry Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*,² *The Thracian Won-*

¹ Swinburne: *A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 87-88.

Mr. Ward in his *History of the English Drama* takes a different view of this drama. Though he grants the absurdity of introducing the Lowland Scotch dialect in Sherwood Forest, and admits that passages here and there have too great classical colouring, yet he claims that Jonson on the whole has "with singular freshness caught the spirit of the greenwood." Moreover, the Arcadian shepherds introduced, seem to him beings of a definite age and country, and the combination of these with Robin Hood seems "a lucky combination difficult to be repeated." Ward, *History of the English Drama*, I, p. 586.

² *Argalus and Parthenia*. As it hath been acted at the court before their Maiesties and at the Private-House in Drury Lane. By their Maiesties Servants. The Author, Henry Glapthorne, . . . 1639. Mr. Fleay thinks that the play was first acted in 1638. *Chron. of the Eng. Drama.*, II, p. 245.

der,¹ attributed to Webster, and Thomas Forde's *Love's Labyrinth*.²

In *Argalus and Parthenia*, Glapthorne has taken an episode from Sidney's *Arcadia* and has treated it so as to subordinate as much as possible the pastoral element. The atmosphere of the play is, in general, that of the court; the main characters are princes and warriors; and the scenes are laid either at court or at the tilting ground. As a kind of under plot, there is introduced the love-making of Clitophon, "an inconstant shepherd," Strephon, "a foolish shepherd," and Alexis, "another swaine," with three shepherdesses. These characters talk and act like pastoral characters, but they appear only for a short time on the stage, (I, 2 and II, 2.)

The Thracian Wonder and *Love's Labyrinth* were founded on Greene's pastoral romance *Menaphon*. The Author of *The Thracian Wonder* subordinated and almost eliminated the pastoral element he found in the romance. The principal characters are the King of Thrace, his brother, daughter, son-in-law and grandson. Consequently the atmosphere of the play is that of the court and camp. A few pastoral characters are introduced, however;—Antimon (a mere shadow of the shepherd Menaphon, in Greene's romance,) Tityrus, a merry shepherd, and Palaemon, a mad shepherd. The last part of Act I; the conversation between Tityrus and Radagon and the consulting of the oracle in Act II; the wooing of Ariadne in Act II and IV: these are all the scenes that could possibly be termed pastoral.

Love's Labyrinth preserves much more of the pastoral coloring. This fact, together with the comparative rarity of the play justifies a more detailed analysis.

¹ *The Thracian Wonder*. . . . By John Webster, . . . 1661. . . . Mr. Fleay considers this to be the same play as *War Without Blows and Love Without Suit*. By Thomas Heywood, 1598. The identification seems probable. See *Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, p. 287.

² *Love's Labyrinth or The Royal Shepherdess*. A Tragi-Comedie. By Tho. Forde, . . . 1660.

The first Act of the play contains nothing pastoral. It relates how Damocles, King of Arcadia, angered by the clandestine marriage of his daughter Sephestia to Maximus, Prince of Cyprus, condemns her and her babe Plusidippus to the mercy of the sea. Maximus offers his life in exchange but is refused ; the king's brother Lamedon also intercedes in vain, and finally determines to share the exile of the lovers. A storm separates the exiles, Sephestia and her uncle Lamedon are wrecked on a remote coast of Arcadia, and find refuge with the shepherd Menaphon. Maximus, cast up on another part of the coast, resolves to spend the rest of his life as a shepherd. The babe, Plusidippus, is found upon the seashore by outlaws who take him as a present to the King of Thrace.

The remainder of the play is almost equally divided between the pastoral and the court element. There are three centres of the action ; the court of King Damocles ; the court of the King of Thrace ; and the home of the shepherd Menaphon. King Damocles is smitten with remorse, as year after year passes by without tidings of his daughter or grandson, and finally he leaves his throne and goes to seek them. The part played by the King of Thrace is very small. He adopts as his son the babe Plusidippus and in the course of time plans for the boy a marriage with his own daughter. The plan miscarries, for Plusidippus when he grows to manhood is dissatisfied with the princess and goes into Arcadia to seek a shepherdess in marriage. The fortunes of Sephestia, Lamedon and Maximus form the pastoral incidents of the play. Menaphon, who protects Sephestia and Lamedon, belongs to a common type, the heart-free shepherd. He boasts of his freedom to his friend Doron.

“Fond love no more,
Will I adore
Thy feigned Deity ;
Go throw thy darts,
At single hearts,
And prove thy victory.

Whilst I do keep
 My harmless sheep,
 Love hath no power on me;
 'Tis idle fables
 Which he controules
 The busie man is free."

Before long, Menaphon begins to fall under the spell of Sephestia's beauty, and, from time to time, he woos her with songs (one of which, *Love's Duel*, is taken from Anacreon; another from Greene's romance). Sephestia rejects his love, and finally leaves him and becomes a shepherdess, living with her uncle Lamedon. They become enamoured with Arcadian life. Lamedon recites its praises as follows:—

"How happy are these shepherds! here they live
 Content, and know no other cares, but how
 To tend their flocks, and please their Mistris best.
 They know no strife, but that of love, they spend
 Their days in mirth; and when they end, sweet sleeps
 Repay, and ease the labours of the day.
 They need no Lawyers to decide their jars,
 Good herbs, and wholesome diet, is to them
 The only Æsculapius; their skill
 Is how to save, not how with art to kill.
 Pride and ambition are such strangers here,
 They are not known so much as by their names.
 Their sheep and they contend in innocence,
 Which shall excell, the Master or his flocks.
 With honest mirth, and merry tales, they pass
 Their time, and sweeten all their cares:
 Whilst Courts are fill'd with waking, thoughtful strife,
 Peace and content do crown the Shepherds life."

The years pass swiftly by and Sephestia becomes famous for her beauty and wit. At last she meets Maximus at a shepherds' feast. They fail to recognize each other. Their love, however, revives and Maximus succeeds in winning her consent to a marriage. Menaphon laments his loss in a song taken from Greene's romance, "Ye restless cares, etc." His grief is increased by the taunts of his former mistress Pesana (the forsaken shepherdess).

The conclusion of the play relates how King Damocles and Plusidippus came to Arcadia, and how both fell in love with the beautiful shepherdess Sephestia. She recognizes them as her father and her son, and reveals her identity. A general reconciliation ensues, and Maximus is reunited to Sephestia.

A comedy element is introduced into the drama by the wooing of Camela by Doron, "a foolish shepherd :"

"*Carmela*. What does the mouth of your affection water ?"

"*Doron*. Water ? No, it fires. I'm so all afire that I dare not go amongst my flocks for fear lest I should burn up all their pasture, if thou dost not showre down some dew of comfort to cool me."

Doron, failing of success, hires a poet to write verses for him, and in the end he wins Carmela's love.

Forde follows his original very closely. He reduces the pastoral element, however, by placing Plusidippus at court (in the romance he is brought up among shepherds) and by cutting out many pastoral incidents. The whole drama is about equally divided between court and pastoral scenes.

John Day's *Ile of Gulls* and James Shirley's *Arcadia* are often mentioned as pastoral dramas, for no better reason apparently than that they were both founded upon Sidney's famous romance. In *The Ile of Gulls* the court atmosphere is preserved throughout. There are no shepherds nor shepherdesses among the characters, nor even courtiers disguised as shepherds. Though the scene is laid in an island (satirically termed "the Ile of Gulls") near Arcadia, and though ambassadors come from Lacedaemon ; yet the action might have been localized, just as well, at any court in christendom. The characters are the Duke, Duchess, princes, princesses and their servants, and the play is devoted to the working out of various love intrigues. The plot, as stated above, was taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, but pastoral scenes, characters and allusions were carefully avoided.

Shirley, in *The Arcadia* followed Day's example, using in the main the same episodes, but adding the supposed death of

Basilæus and the trial scene. In this way Shirley introduced tragic effects, and made the play a tragi-comedy instead of a pure comedy. Dametas though termed a shepherd is really a clown, while in Day's play he is both clown and knave. Both plays, however, preserve throughout the court atmosphere and are not in the slightest degree pastoral.¹

IV. THE ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA.

England did not give so cordial a welcome to the pastoral drama as did Italy, for in England the pastoral impulse sought expression chiefly in pastoral poems and romances. Moreover, the wonderful success of the drama along other lines than pastoral made the English poets little desirous of trying experiments. So it happened that the pastoral drama was a late and scanty growth in England. Not until the opening of the seventeenth century did the English playwrights seriously turn their attention to pastoral drama. We

¹The following plays and poems have been classed by various writers as pastoral dramas:—*The Faery Pastoral, or Forrest of Elves*, by W. P., Esquier. This play exhibits no trace of pastoral influence. It is made up of fairy and forest elements, and the humor is supplied by a pedagogue and his blundering boys. *Omphale, or The Inconstant Shepheardesse*, by R. Braithwaite, 1623. There is no play bearing this title. Braithwaite's production is a short pastoral poem. *La Pastorelle de Florimène*, acted before Prince Charles and the Prince Palantine, by the French maids of the Queen at Whitehall, 1635. A pastoral play undoubtedly, but hardly belonging to English Literature. *Amphrisa, the forsaken Shepheardesse*, by Th. Heywood, 1637. This is a dramatic poem or masque, and therefore does not come within the scope of our discussion. In *The Cyprian Academy*, a pastoral romance by Robert Baron (1647), occurs on p. 16 a short pastoral play in three acts, entitled, *Gripus and Hegio, or The Passionate Lovers*. This piece is more of the nature of a masque than a regular drama. *Love in its Extasie, or The Large Prerogative*, 1649. This play reflects throughout the court atmosphere. *The Shepherds' Holiday*, by Sir William Denny, 1651. This is a pastoral eclogue, not a drama. *Thyrsis*, by John Oldmixon, 1697. This is a short play of one act, printed with four other dramatic pieces in a curious volume entitled, *The Novelty, Every act a play, being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy and Farce after the Italian manner*.

have found twelve plays which preserve consistently the pastoral atmosphere, which are due to pastoral influence alone, and which represent characters which are either traditional Arcadians or courtiers disguised as such. These plays with one exception, Gay's *Dione*, appeared within the short period 1605 to 1660. As a class they represent a comparatively unimportant division of the English drama. Many show youthful or amateur work; several were never acted at all; and none attained popularity, the majority being written for some special occasion or for representation at Court.

In dealing with these plays we propose to consider the sources, the characteristics of the verse, the satiric, allegorical or personal allusions, and the part each drama played in the development of pastoral drama in England. In the case of dramas not easily accessible an outline of the plot will be given. The list of English pastoral dramas, arranged in their probable chronological order, is as follows:—

1. *The Queen's Arcadia* by Samuel Daniel; acted 1605.
2. *The Faithful Shepherdess* by John Fletcher; acted 1608.
3. *Hymen's Triumph* by Samuel Daniel; acted 1614.
4. *The Careless Shepherdess* by Thomas Goffe; written before 1629.
5. *Rhodon and Iris* by Ralph Knevet; acted 1631.
6. *The Shepherds' Paradise* by Walter Montague; acted 1632.
7. *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*, by Thomas Randolph; written 1632–4.
8. *The Shepherds' Holiday* by Joseph Rutter; printed 1635.
9. *Love's Riddle* by Abraham Cowley; written 1632–6.
10. *Astraea* by Leonard Willan; printed 1651.
11. *The Enchanted Lovers* by William Lower; printed 1658.
12. *Dione* by John Gay; written 1720.

Six of these plays were constructed on Italian models; the rest were based upon pastoral romances or were constructed

from original plots. For purposes of comparison we shall consider first the imitations of the Italian pastoral drama, the earliest of which was Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*. The life of Samuel Daniel, poet, masque-writer and dramatist, is too well known to require any detailed account here. It is interesting, however, to note that Daniel while in Italy actually met Guarini, and that he was personally interested in the first English translation of *Il Pastor Fido*.¹ *The Queen's Arcadia* was first acted, as set forth in the title, at Christ's Church, Oxford, before the queen in August, 1605. The prologue, which expands the thought contained in the motto, "*chi non fa, non falla*," proves that Daniel had a well-conceived theory as to what a pastoral should be. The main thought is as follows:—"The humblest rank of words best accords with rural passions which use not to reach beyond the groves and woods where they were bred: where men, shut out, retired and sequestered from public fashion, seem to sympathize with innocent and plain simplicity. Therefore it is a mistake to make shepherds discuss the hidden mysteries and arts of state which neither they nor the dramatists who represent them know anything about. So we will not show, in the view of state, a counterfeit of state, but erect our scene on the ground whence our humble argument has birth, and thus if we fall we fall but on the earth."

If this modest and somewhat obsequious prologue is to be taken seriously, it shows that Daniel intended to write a strictly pastoral drama, and especially to avoid mixing in the "court" element. He does not seem to realize, however, the difficulty of constructing out of the simple elements of pastoral life an interesting play. We have seen how Tasso and Guarini accomplished this by the introduction of lyrical choruses of surpassing beauty, and how pastoral writers in general sought by personal allusion, satire and the like to arouse the interest of their readers. Daniel's practise, how-

¹See Daniel's sonnet prefixed to Dimock's translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, 1602.

ever, differs somewhat from his theory; he introduces several characters whose experience reaches far "beyond the groves and woods," and he attacks with amusing and penetrating satire many evils of his own days. Yet the atmosphere of the play is Arcadian throughout, and the characters are all pastoral except a few corrupt visitors from without. The scene, moreover, is consistently Arcadian, as the following descriptions attest:

"For this poore corner of *Arcadia* here,
 This little angle of the world you see,
 Which hath shut out of doore, all t'earth beside,
 And is bard up with mountaines, and with rocks;
 Have had no intertrading with the rest
 Of men, nor yet will have, but here alone,
 Quite out of fortunes way, and underneath
 Ambition, or desire, that weighes them not,
 They live as if still in the golden age,
 When as the world was in his pupillage.
 * * * * *
 thus they make themselves,
 An everlasting holyday of rest
 Whilst others work." III, 1, 1023-1035.¹

"This montaynous *Arcadia*, shut up here
 Within these Rockes, these unfrequented Clifts,—
 The walles and bulwarkes of our libertie,—
 From out the noyse of tumult, and the throng
 Of sweating toyle, ratling concurrency;
 And have continued still the same and one
 In all successions from antiquitie;
 Whil'st all the states on earth besides have made
 A thousand revolutions, and have rowl'd
 From change to change, and never yet found rest."
v, 3, 2202-2211.

The time chosen for the action is a comparatively late period of Arcadian history when the primitive honesty of the golden age is threatened by intruders from without. The play opens with the lament of two old Arcadians, Melibaeus

¹ The references throughout are to Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*. Ed. Grosart, 1885.

and Ergastus, for the evils growing up about them—diseases, lawsuits, extravagance of dress. They first learn the cause of these evils by overhearing a conversation between Colax, a returned traveller, and Techne, a “subtle wench” of Corinth. Colax is trying to persuade Techne to procure him the love of the shepherdess Cloris, and thus to separate her from her lover Amyntas. Techne, hoping to win Amyntas for herself, readily consents. The old men resolve to expose the plotters.

In the second act Sylvia, the jealous lover, warns Cloris against men. She laments the loss of her lover Palaemon, whose falseness is attested by Colax. Cloris resolves to abjure the company of men. In this frame of mind she repulses Techne’s pleadings for Colax. Techne changes her tactics, and offers her a new head-dress, hoping thus to gain some influence over her. As a companion scene, Daniel here introduces Palaemon, the jealous lover, who rails at woman’s baseness because Sylvia (as testified by Colax) has deserted him for another. The old men, who have overheard all, moralize on the success of the evil which comes clothed in honesty.

The third act introduces the secondary agents of corruption, Lincus, a pettifogger, and Alcon, a quack-salver. The rogues are interrupted by Daphne, a shepherdess, who has been ruined by Colax. She applies to Alcon for medicine and he promises to prepare it. Meanwhile Techne has arranged a meeting with Cloris at the cave of Erycina, and has sent Colax there in her stead. Her next plot is to send Amyntas also to the cave where (she tells him) he will find proofs of Cloris’s unfaithfulness. In this way she hopes to win him for herself. The old men again moralize on the villainous plots they are witnessing.

In the fourth act Techne meets Amyntas returning from the cave. Having seen Cloris and Colax enter the cave, he believes his mistress is guilty. Still he refuses to be comforted by Techne’s feigned sympathy, and tells her he is

resolved to put himself to death. Techne, left alone, grows remorseful, and decides to seek Cloris and unite her to her lover. She finds Cloris laughing at the sorry figure cut by Colax when he wooed her in the cave. She grows serious, however, on learning from Techne of Amyntas's fatal resolve and she rushes off to prevent it. The act closes with the usual tirade of the old eavesdroppers.

In the fifth act occurs the main part of the underplot which is concerned with the love of Amarillis for the huntsman Carinus. Meanwhile Amyntas has attempted to carry out his resolve by taking poison. He is brought back to life by the care of Cloris, assisted by an herb-woman. Finally the old men call together a large hunting party and, when all are assembled, expose the villains. The rogues are banished, and all the lovers are united. Arcadia regains its primitive honesty and simplicity.

The influence of Guarini and Tasso is very evident in this drama. The incident of the meeting in the cave and the wooing of the huntsman are from the former poet, while the attempted suicide and the recovery of Amyntas are borrowed from Tasso. With the exception of these poets, Daniel seems to have had no models. Altogether, Daniel has constructed an interesting and, in the main, an original plot. In construction it is open to some adverse criticism. Each act closes with a dialogue between the two old men who really constitute a kind of chorus to the play. This leads to repetition and monotony. Are we to imagine these two old eavesdroppers hidden behind a tree and appearing at stated intervals from their place of concealment? Another fault in construction is the mechanical arrangement of several scenes in pairs. Moreover, the secondary agents of corruption, Alcon and Lincus, are not connected closely enough with the main plot. This gives one the impression that they are introduced only to satirize tobacco for the delectation of King James.

In delineation of character Daniel is more successful than most pastoral writers. Melibaeus and Ergastus, to be sure, are

not individualized, but this is not necessary, for they represent the "providence" of the play. Cloris is well-drawn. Her distrust of men is a natural consequence of what she has heard; her amusing account of Colax's attempt on her virtue shows her courage and wit; while her final submission to love (an incident borrowed from Tasso) is highly poetic and natural. Her lover Amyntas arouses far more sympathy in the reader than does his original, Tasso's Aminta. His rejection of Techne is manly and consistent, as is also his reference to Cloris. His attempted suicide, moreover, is justified by a sufficient motive: here Daniel again improves on his original. The evil agents are all clearly delineated, especially Techne, who, by her repentance, almost deserves a better fate. Daphne, the erring maid, is drawn with a master's hand. Her words are truly pathetic; and in the end when all are made happy save herself, we realize the fine artistic conscience of the dramatist. Amarillis, the forward shepherdess, and the huntsman Carinus (Guarini's Dorinda and Silvio) are altogether shadowy and unsuccessful as characters in the play. The characters of Montanus and Acrysius (Guarini's Montano and Titiro) are still more shadowy, and are dragged in at the end without any apparent reason.

Daniel's verse is in general smooth and melodious. The whole play is written in decasyllabic iambic verse, there being no songs or choruses in shorter measures. The prologue is in quatrains, rhyming alternately, with an occasional couplet. The main part of the play is in blank verse diversified by rhymed couplets and by quatrains rhyming alternately.¹ Yet the general effect of the whole is not that of blank verse, since fully one-fourth of the lines are rhymed. The close connection of pastoral drama with pastoral poetry is seen in lines 430 to 500, and 800 to 860. These two passages really constitute related pastoral love lyrics.² In general, Daniel's

¹ See II, 3 and 4.

² On the analogy of the titles in *Tottel's Miscellany* one might call the first selection "The Forsaken Nymph recites her love, and rails at her Lover."

verse flows on in a leisurely fashion often delighting to expand to three lines what might better be expressed in one. Occasionally, however, the poet writes with admirable terseness. For example :—

“There is no misery unlesse compar’d” (757).

... “Since love knew never Lord
That could command the region of our will” (1901).

“Ah, ’tis the silent rhetoricke of a looke,
That works the league betwixt the States of hearts” (2159–60).

The chief metrical license in the play is the ellipsis of the final letters in such words as “the,” “he,” “they.” This is resorted to so frequently to smooth out a verse that it becomes a blemish.

Of the general characteristics of pastoral literature, enumerated above,¹ the one chiefly noticeable is satire. The whole play is satiric in character; the corrupted Arcadia representing England. In the characters of Lincus and Alcon, the dramatist satirizes pettifoggers and quacks; in Colax, returned travellers; in Techne, the cosmetic-sellers and perfumers. Corinth (282) may stand for France. The most amusing satiric passage, however, is the “counterblast against tobacco” inserted to please King James. Alcon tells how he bought from a seaman a certain pestiferous herb, grown in the Island of Nicosia, and introduced its use among the Arcadians,

“I thought how well
This new fantastical devise would please
The foolish people here growne humorous.
..... now with strange
And gluttonous desire, they exhaust the same
Insatiate to devour th’ intoxicating fume.
And whereas heretofore they wonted were
At all their meetings, and their festivalls,
To passe the time in telling witty tales,
In questions, riddles and in purposes,
Now they do nothing else but sit and sucke,
And spit and slaver, all the time they sit.

* * * * *

¹ See p. 363.

Another age will finde the hurt of this,
 And they will wonder with themselves to think
 That men of sense could ever be so mad,
 To sucke so grosse a vapour, that consumes
 Their spirits, spends nature, dries up memorie,
 Corrupts the blood, and is a vanitie."

III, 1.

The Queen's Arcadia contains comparatively few references to supernatural characters or agencies. Daniel follows tradition in not admitting gods and goddesses into the action of the drama. He even suppresses all mention of oracles, and limits his supernatural characters to a satyr, who is mentioned but not brought into the action. Allusions to the Greek myths are frequent, but are used simply for ornament.

Most of the characters in the drama belong to the conventional types; the faithful shepherd, Amyntas; the shepherdess, devoted to virginity, but overcome at last by the perseverance of her lover,¹ Cloris (Compare Tasso's Sylvia); the shepherdess who woos a reluctant swain,¹ Amarillis (Compare Shakespeare's Helena, M. S. N. D., II, 1); the rival shepherds, Amyntas and Carinus. In his delineation of the jealous lovers, Palaemon and Sylvia, Daniel apparently followed no pastoral model. This applies also to the character of Daphne. There is probably no allegorical meaning underlying *The Queen's Arcadia*, nor is there any attempt to describe rural scenery.

As a whole the play is an interesting attempt to construct a pastoral drama in English, which should strictly follow tradition and especially the examples of Tasso and Guarini. Daniel failed to equal his models, not because he lacked skill in construction, but because he lacked the highest poetic genius.

Hymen's Triumph, Daniel's second venture in pastoral drama, will be considered next, though Fletcher's *Faithful*

¹These types occur so frequently in the pastoral dramas that for uniformity and convenience I shall term the first the *heart-free* shepherdess, and the second the *forward* shepherdess.

Shepherdess preceded it by several years. As a matter of fact, Daniel borrowed nothing from Fletcher, but sought inspiration again from the Italian dramatists. *Hymen's Triumph* was performed at Somerset House, at the marriage of Lord Roxburgh in February, 1614, and was published in January of the following year.¹ The main purpose of the play is not satiric,² but an attempt to represent idealized pastoral life as Daniel imagined it.

Hymen's Triumph opens with an allegorical prologue.³ Hymen, Envy and Jealousy proclaim to the audience their determination to enter Arcadia and take possession of the hearts of the swains and nymphs. Such a prologue might be prefixed, of course, to almost any drama. It is not meant that these allegorical figures are included among the *dramatis personae* of the play. All the characters concerned are genuine Arcadians, and the drama preserves strictly the pastoral atmosphere.⁴

The first scene contains the lament of Thirsis (a faithful shepherd) for his lost Silvia. He has found in the forest her veil, torn and bloody, and concludes that she has fallen a prey to some wild beast. Palaemon (type of the confidant or consoler) tries to allay the grief of Thirsis, but his efforts are vain. Finally he leaves his friend, and Thirsis seeks to divert his mind by listening to the singing of his boy :

" Had sorrow ever fitter place
To act his part,
Then in my heart,
Where it takes up all the space
Where is no veine
To entertaine
A thought that weares another face.

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 94.

² A few passages are slightly flavored with satire. See II, 1, and II, 2, ll. 649-656. The references are to Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*. Ed. Grosart, 1885.

³ Cf. synopsis of prologue to Tasso's *Aminta*, on p. 368.

⁴ The foresters of II, 1, are true Arcadians, especially Montanus, who belongs to the type of the surly shepherd.

Nor will I sorrow ever have,
 Therein to be,
 But onely thee,
 To whom I full possession gave:
 Thou in thy name
 Must holde the same,
 Untill thou bring it to the grave."

In the second scene Cloris, a nymph in love with Thirsis, sends to him a message by her boy Clarindo (who is really the lost Silvia in disguise). In a soliloquy, Clarindo explains why she has disguised herself. It was necessary in some way to avoid being forced into a marriage with Alexis. She hopes that now he will accept her disappearance as a proof of her death and will marry some other shepherdess. Then she can reveal her identity and marry Thirsis. Her mistress does not suspect her real sex, and she hopes that she can deceive others. So she sets out joyously to deliver the message of her mistress to Thirsis. On the way she is wooed by Phillis, who, on being rejected, is inconsolable. The act closes with the fine song of the first chorus:—

"Love is a sicknessfull of woes,
 All remedies refusing;
 A plant that with most cutting growes
 Most barren with best using.

Why so?

More we enjoy it, more it dyes,
 If not enjoy'd, it sighing cries,
 Hey ho.

Love is a torment of the minde,
 A tempest everlasting,
 And Jove hath made it of a kind,
 Nor well, nor full nor fasting.

Why so?

More we enjoy it, more it dyes,
 If not enjoy'd, it sighing cries
 Hey ho."

The second act introduces the foresters Silvanus, Dorcus and Montanus. They lament the "golden age" of Arcadia

when love was the only master of the heart. They ascribe the change to the introduction of wealth. Montanus recounts how his mistress Phillis embraced the boy Clarindo, and vows to be revenged. His friends try to dissuade him. Montanus leaves them and seeks Phillis. The wily shepherdess tells him that so far from seeking to embrace Clarindo she had with difficulty checked his presumption. Montanus is completely deceived, and rushes off to punish the innocent boy. Meanwhile Clarindo (Silvia) reports to her mistress her interview with Thirsis. She relates how Thirsis talked only of Silvia and refused to entertain the thought of any new love. Then follows the second chorus :—

“Desire that is of things ungot,
See what travail it procureth,
And how much the minde endureth,
To gaine what yet it gaineth not:
For never was it paid,
The charge defraide.
According to the price of thought.”

In the third act Palaemon again seeks to comfort Thirsis. Alexis, he says, has overcome his grief for Silvia and is about to marry. Why should not he (Thirsis) do the same? Thirsis defends constancy and relates to his friend an oracle he has received :—

“Go youth, reserve thyself; the day will come
Thou shall be happy and return again.”

Thirsis adds that in his curiosity he asked the oracle when that day should come, and the oracle had answered, “The day thou diest.” Palaemon wisely leaves the lover to his grief. Fortunately the father of Silvia has overheard the conversation and he is filled with admiration for the constancy of Thirsis. The act closes with a nuptial song by the chorus of shepherds.

The fourth act opens with a soliloquy of Thirsis, in which he tells how he found carved on a tree the words, “Thy Silvia lives, and is returned.” He cannot believe in the truth of the message, though it is written in a cipher known

only to Silvia and himself. His soliloquy is interrupted by the entrance of Clarindo, who has been sent a second time by Phillis. Thirsis does not recognize her, but being pleased with the appearance of the boy asks for a story. Clarindo tells him her own misfortunes under the name of Julia.¹ Thirsis is too dull to comprehend that Julia, Silvia, and Clarindo are one and the same person. Finally Clarindo leaves him, and on her return to her mistress is met by the jealous Montanus, who accuses her of familiarities with Phillis, and then in a fit of passion stabs her to the heart. Thirsis, hearing her cries, hastens to her aid. He discovers she is a woman, and at last recognizes his Silvia. He swoons upon the body and the chorus sings:—

“ Were ever chaste and honest hearts
 Expos'd unto so great distresses?
 Yes: they that act the worthiest parts
 Most commonly have worst successes.
 Great fortunes follow not the best
 Its virtue that is most distrest.

Then fortune why doe we admire
 The glory of thy great excesses?
 Since by thee what men acquire,
 Thy worke and not their worths expresses.
 Nor dost thou raise them for their good:
 But t' have their illes more understood.”

The fifth act recounts how Thirsis and Silvia were healed by Lamia (compare the healing of Amyntas in *The Queen's Arcadia*). Then, after a humorous dialogue between Phillis and her nurse, the play ends with a song of the chorus.

“ Whoever saw so faire a sight,
 Love and virtue met aright:
 And that wonder Constancy,
 Like a Comet to the eye
 Seldom ever seene so bright?
 Sound out aloud so rare a thing,
 That all the Hills and Vales may ring.

¹ The passage, lines 1475–1641, is one of the most beautiful in the play, but is too long for quotation.

Looke Lovers looke, with passion see,
 If that any such there bee:
 As there cannot but be such
 Who doe feel that noble touch
 In this glorious company.
 Sound out aloud so rare a thing,
 That all the Hills and Vales may ring."

As a whole, this play is better constructed than *The Queen's Arcadia*. There is less repetition and monotony, and fewer unnecessary and detached characters. The faults in construction are first, the delay of the oracle until the third act (if introduced earlier it would have explained the depth of Thirsis's grief and aroused more sympathy for him); and secondly, the hurried close. In the last act all the characters should have been assembled and a double marriage celebrated. Perhaps, also, Montanus should have married Phillis.

In respect to character delineation, Daniel succeeds best in Silvia, Thirsis, and the nurse Lydia. Palaemon, however, is a failure. Montanus (type of the sullen shepherd) is well portrayed. The chorus, an awkward task for any dramatist to manage, is brought in naturally and according to pastoral traditions.

Daniel's indebtedness to Tasso and Guarini is very great. Thirsis is borrowed directly from Tasso, while Medorus and Clarinus, the fathers of the hero and heroine, are taken from Guarini. For the oracle, Daniel had recourse to D'Urfé's *Astrée*. The incidents in the play, however, are in the main original with Daniel.

The supernatural element is not employed, save in the oracle, and even here it is really unnecessary to the plot. There are no gods, goddesses, satyrs or fauns. Dreams are regarded as sacred by Medorus, but ridiculed by Clarinus. Anachronisms are almost entirely lacking. In both of Daniel's pastoral dramas great care was taken to avoid this fault.

The versification of *Hymen's Triumph* is interesting. The first fourteen lines of the dedication may be regarded as a sonnet; to this are added quatrains, and the whole is concluded by three couplets. The prologue is written in blank

verse, diversified with occasional rhyming lines. This practise is continued throughout the play, about one-fourth of which is in rhymed couplets. In the songs and choruses Daniel uses a shorter line and writes usually in stanzas.

But, perhaps, the most noteworthy feature of the play is the treatment of love. Many passages are devoted to expressing the poet's ideal of this passion. In the characters of Thirsis and Silvia he extols constancy, while in the character of Lydia he satirizes the lower views of life entertained by the vulgar throng of mankind who are incapable of lofty passion.

The most famous of English pastoral dramas, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* was acted in 1608, and published the following year. It was "damned" on the stage, but in spite of this fact was revived after the restoration of Charles II., and, according to Pepys, "much thronged after for the scene's sake."¹ This play was extremely popular with the reading public, and was reprinted in 1629, 1634, 1656 and 1665. It was included in the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher (1679), and has always been regarded as one of the best plays in the collection. Its influence on Milton's *Comus* is very marked, and many other poets have borrowed from, or praised, this exquisite pastoral poem. The authorship has been assigned by almost all the critics to Fletcher alone, but Mr. Fleay finds internal evidence of Beaumont's co-operation in the drama.² Many critics mention this play as the earliest pastoral drama in the language, but it is undoubtedly later than Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*.

It is interesting to compare Fletcher's theory in regard to pastorals with that of Daniel already quoted.³ Fletcher says in his preface:—"A pastoral is a representation of shepherds and shepherdesses with their actions and passions, which must be such as agree with their nature as depicted in former fictions and vulgar traditions, adorned with no art save singing

¹ Pepys' *Diary*, 1663.

² *Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, I, 178.

³ See page 393.

and poetry, or such as experience may teach (e. g., the virtues of herbs and fountains); also it must be remembered that shepherds were owners of flocks not hirelings." This is the task Fletcher set himself, but his imagination failed to construct a consistent picture of the simplicity of a "golden age," and his shepherds (which his fastidious soul would not permit him to taint with any trace of the rustic sheep-tenders of his own days) became so idealized as to give little impression of reality. The plot is intentionally simple and the characters do not impress one as real. This is almost inevitable in a pastoral drama, and a critic misses the whole value of the work if he confines himself to a consideration of the plot and characters. However, it is only fair to point out the skill in the technique, the touches which show Fletcher to have been a born playwright. All the characters are introduced in the first act in such a way that each makes a distinct impression on the reader; the tragic element in the wounding of Amoret is sufficient to rouse sympathy without too great apprehension; and all the characters are brought together naturally at the end of the play for their respective rewards and punishments. The central figure, which gives unity to the plot, is of course Amoret, the loving shepherdess; the good genius (the providence of the play) is consistently enough placed in Clorin, the chaste votaress, and her servant the satyr; the evil to be overcome is the plotting of the sullen shepherd and Cloe. The play is noteworthy as one of the few English dramas which preserve the unities. The unity of time is strictly observed, the play beginning in the evening and ending at dawn the next day. The unity of place is in the main observed, each scene being placed in a wood close to a village. The unity of action, however, is occasionally violated. The weak points in the construction of the plot are in twice wounding Amoret; in the absurd success of Clorin's ruse to get rid of Thenot; and in the pardoning of Cloe. Yet, on the whole, the plot may be said to be skilfully imagined, and it certainly compares favorably with the entangled

inartistic plots of so many pastoral dramas. The principal characters are treated so as to arouse a proportionable interest. Daphnis, however, is assigned too important a part. Here Fletcher fails—Daphnis might have been omitted. He is introduced not to forward the plot, but to represent a certain phase of love.

This brings us to a consideration of the allegory which seems to underlie this play. We have seen how fond the pastoral poets were of disguised allegory. Usually it was not thought necessary to prefix a key to the allegory as Spenser did in the *Faery Queen*. The pastoral writers preferred to leave the interpretation to the reader's imagination. It seems not improbable that Fletcher in this respect has followed the general practise, and that the allegory of *The Faithful Shepherdess* is intended to symbolize the various phases of love. Such an interpretation of *The Faithful Shepherdess* explains many of the absurd incidents as well as the general unreality of the characters. If this view of the play be the correct one, we may conclude that Fletcher represents in allegorical form at least five phases of love,—first, spiritual love; second, constancy; third, chivalrous worship of woman; fourth, physical love; and fifth, lust. Fletcher's portrayal of spiritual love in Amoret, Daphnis and Perigot is as beautiful as Milton's portrayal of chastity in *Comus*. Amoret's and Perigot's conversation (I, 2), Daphnis's guileless words to Cloe (I, 3), and especially Perigot's wounding of Amarillis (III, 1)—all these arouse only a smile of incredulity if we judge the characters as human beings, but if we regard them as poetic idealizations of the highest spiritual love, we at once find them perfectly consistent. In the second phase, constancy, the same reasoning holds. Abstractly considered, Clorin's devotion to her dead lover is highly beautiful, and we can understand the admiration it caused in Thenot, and his disappointment when he supposes her to be on the point of yielding to human desires (IV, 5). In real life, however, or in a play representing real life, Clorin would be altogether

impossible and exasperating, and her ruse to get rid of Thenot would be equally unjustifiable. Thenot, apparently, is introduced simply to represent a chivalrous idolatry of woman—a mediæval conception based on the worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints—which raises certain favored women above human passions.¹ Physical love Fletcher seems absolutely to condemn. It is capable of being refined into spiritual love, however, as is illustrated in the characters of Amarillis and Alexis. The treatment of lust in Cloe and the sullen shepherd passes all bounds if we judge them as real personages, but can easily be justified if we regard them as allegorical characters. Fletcher intends to show the degradation of love, when divorced from the spiritual nature and given over to brutal excesses. It must be admitted, however, that the pardon of Cloe—while the sullen shepherd is condemned—is an inconsistency whether we regard her as a real or an allegorical character.

In fine, the inconsistencies in the play are those which appear in almost all allegories. When an abstract quality is personified, some absurdity is sure to result. But if we regard the play as a representation of certain phases of love, as they were regarded by many men of the time, the drama gains an added interest and loses much of its inconsistency. Nevertheless few thoughtful men can accept the conclusions which Fletcher suggests, first, that constancy to a dead lover and a vow of virginity is supremely holy; secondly, that spiritual love between the sexes is necessarily destroyed by any taint of physical love (another mediæval conception making marriage a degradation); and thirdly, that the deification of women is in itself commendable. Finally, though all may assent to the doom pronounced on the lustful, yet few will accept Fletcher's portrayal of it as legitimate art.

¹ Thenot may represent the general sentiment that desire ceases when it attains what it seeks. But this interpretation is probably too cynical for the general spirit of the play.

Why then is the play not forgotten? It seems that the true answer is to be found in its poetic beauty and melodious versification. Metrically, the play is an interesting study. The first scene begins with about fifty lines of very musical blank verse. In the rest of the play, however, blank verse is seldom employed—the whole play containing less than three hundred unrhymed lines. The greater part is in rhymed decasyllabic verse. About four hundred lines are written in octosyllabic couplets. For the songs more diversified metres are preferred, and their beauty alone is sufficient to preserve the drama from oblivion. Moreover, passages of great poetic merit occur in almost every scene. Clorin's opening speech in renunciation of the joys of life; the satyr's speeches throughout; Perigot's wooing of Amoret (I, 2). Cloe's speeches, if we can pardon the licentious touches, are of great poetic beauty; so are the words of the priest of Pan (II, 1 and V, 5) and of Clorin as she sorts the herbs (II, 2). The real value of the play, therefore, is to be found best by treating it as a lyrical love poem.

Satirical passages are rare in *The Faithful Shepherdess*. There may be a thrust against city and court in Amoret's speeches (I, 2); against women (II, 3 and III, 1). Nor is the drama noteworthy for its treatment of nature. There are no set descriptions. Many enumerations of trees, plants, flowers and fruits are given, but in general the scenery is left to the imagination of the reader.

A pastoral dramatist is hardly deserving of censure for the introduction of anachronisms, yet Fletcher's treatment of love is exasperating in this respect. The marriage rite is not mentioned, and we are justified in thinking that Fletcher wishes to represent Arcadian life in too primitive a stage to enjoy the rite imposed on mankind by social and religious laws. What then should have been his treatment of the relation of the sexes? Evidently, either complete freedom in sexual relations, or union after mutual vows. The former was farthest from his thoughts, the latter is censured. So the

absurd consequence follows that his amorous Arcadians must pass their lives in the purgatory of the betrothed pair, with clasped hands and chaste embraces. This is the only conclusion logically to be deduced from Fletcher's play. Still, logic is not to be expected in Arcadia, and Milton's *Comus* reflects the same absurdity. In both cases we see the persistence of mediaeval conceptions in regard to the holiness of virginity, and the degradation of physical love.

Fletcher's treatment of the supernatural is interesting. The English folk-lore witches, fairies and goblins are mixed with the Greek nymphs and satyrs. Clorin can cure "men or cattle charmed with powerful words or wicked art." The beautiful mediaeval superstition that virginity was unassailable by evil is frequently referred to. From the Greek, through the Italian pastoral writers, Fletcher borrows the god of the river. He entirely discards the mechanism of the oracle. Direct plagiarism is not resorted to. Fletcher, like Daniel, borrowed only suggestions from Tasso and Guarini. The title implies that Fletcher intended to write a companion piece to Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. The English play is to be regarded as a rival, not an imitation of the Italian drama.

The English dramatists were apparently discouraged by the failure of Fletcher's play, Jonson never finished his *Sad Shepherd*, and a number of years elapsed before an English dramatist attempted to place a pastoral scene upon the stage. About the year 1625 Thomas Goffe wrote *The Careless Shepherdess*.¹ It was performed before the King and Queen at Whitehall, and afterwards (1629) at Salisbury Court theatre. The first edition bears the date 1656.²

¹ The title-page reads, "*The Careless Shepherdess*. A Tragi-Comedy. Acted before the King and Queen, and at Salisbury Court, with great applause. Written by T. G. Mr. of Arts. Pastorem Tittere pingues Pas-cere oportet oves, deductum ducere Carmen, London . . . 1656."

² The exact date of composition is uncertain. While a fellow at Oxford (1615 to 1623) Goffe was writing plays of an entirely different sort—tragedies on Greek models. Still he may have written this play during that period. It is more probable, however, that he wrote it afterwards between

Very little is known of the life of Thomas Goffe. He was born in the year 1592; educated at Westminster School, and at Christ's Church, Oxford. After receiving the degrees A. B. and A. M. he resided at Oxford until 1623, probably as a fellow. During this time he wrote "three excellent tragedies," which were acted by the students at Christ's Church. In one of these, *Orestes*, he himself delivered the prologue. From 1623 until his death (1629) he held the living at East Clandon, Surrey. It was probably during this period that he wrote his last and best play, *The Careless Shepherdess*. The Argument prefixed to the 1656 edition need not delay us, for in all probability it was not written by Goffe. After the Argument, comes the Praeludium, which is a comic introduction. A courtier, a lawyer, a citizen, a country gentleman and the doorkeeper of the theatre discuss the play. The ability of the citizen and country gentleman to judge the play is ridiculed by the others, and a thrust is given to the poets also, who "of late have drowned their brains in sack, and are grown so dull and lazy that they may be the subjects of a Play, rather than the authors." After this comes the Prologue to the performance at Salisbury Court. First, the author condemns the judgment of the

the years 1623, when he left Oxford, and 1629, when his death occurred. The dates of production can be more accurately ascertained. The play was acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall. This must have been some time between the years 1625 and 1629, for Goffe himself wrote the prologue to their Majesties. The first performance at Salisbury Court Theatre was certainly in 1629, for in that year the theatre was opened, and a new prologue written by Goffe (whose death occurred July 27, 1629). Mr. Fleay (*History of the English Stage*) finds a record of another performance at Salisbury Court in 1632. The printed copy (1656) contains an argument for the play, which was probably written by the editor, while the Praeludium and the two Prologues were undoubtedly written by Goffe. This seems to the writer the correct interpretation of the evidence. Mr. Fleay (*Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, i, 247) has confused the performance at Whitehall with that at Salisbury Court; he is also in error as to the date of Goffe's death, which was certainly in 1629, as is attested by the registry of burials at East Clandon, Surrey.

groundlings who scorn the play because of its rural scenery and costume. Then he adds, indignantly,

“ Would it be proper, think you, for a swain,
To put on Buskins, and a lofty strain?
Or should a Shepherdess such praises vent,
As the Spring-Garden Ladies complement;
Should a rough Satyre, who did never know,
The thing we call a Taylor, Lord-like go
In Silks and Sattins? Or a Country Lasse
Wear by her side a Watch or Looking-Glasse.
Faith, Gentlemen; such Solecisms as these
Might have done well in the Antipodes:

* * * * *

The Author aims not to show wit, but art.
He could have writ high lines, and I do know
His pains were double to descend so low:
Nor does he think it infamy, to confess
His stile as *Careless* as his *Shepherdess*.
Good voices fall and rise, and *Virgil*, who
Did *Georgicks* make, did write *Aeneids* too.
Laurel in woods doth grow, and there may be
Some wit in Shepherds' plain simplicity:
The pictures of a Beggar and a King
Do equal praises to a *Painter* bring;
Meadows and Groves in Landskips please the eye
As much as all the City bravery.
May your ears too accept this rural sport,
And think yourselves in *Salisbury Plain* not *Court*.”

The sentiment expressed here is very similar to that in Daniel's prologue to *The Queen's Arcadia*,¹ namely, that the style of pastoral should be unstudied and the whole impression consistently rural. However, Goffe like Daniel and the other pastoral poets sees rural life through a pastoral medium, and the atmosphere of his play is consistently Arcadian. The short prologue, “to their Majesties at White-Hall,” is merely apologetic, and contains nothing worthy of note. The rarity of the play, however, justifies an account of the plot. In the first scene Philaretus bewails Cupid's cruelty, because Arismena (the careless shepherdess) does not return his love. His

¹ See page 393.

Pay thankful Sacrifice, that he
 May keep our flocks from danger free
 Instruct us Goddess what's thy will.

Sil. Upon this heavy wood-crown'd hill,
 I do invite you to Pans feast,
 Where each shall be a welcome Guest,
 Then to the Musique of my voice,
 Move gently on, each with his choice,
 But so that no malicious eye
 See ought to task your modesty ;
 For your delights must alway be
 Attended on by chastity.

Dance.

Sil. 'Tis time the Sacrifice begin,
 Devotion must be done within ;
 Which done ; you may of Ceres tast,
 And Bacchus gifts, but make no wast :
 For oft where plenty injur'd stands,
 The bounteous Gods do shut their hands :
 The snowy fleeces you have shorn,
 And cropt the golden ears of corn ;
 Lyaeus blood is prest and put
 Into the safe preserving Butt :
 Then when the cold and blustering ayr
 Invites you from the Plains (yet fair),
 To take warm shelters, that may keep
 Yourselves in health, and ek your sheep,
 Will into your numb'd limbs inspire
 An active and preserving fire ;
 Let your expressions then be free
 And gently moving follow me.

She ascends to the Bower singing,

On Shepherds on, wee'l sacrifice
 Those spotless Lambs we prize
 At highest rate, for Pan doth keep
 From harm our scat'ring sheep :
 And hath deserved
 For to be served
 With those ye do esteem the best
 Amongst the flock, as fittest for the feast.

Come Virgins bring your garlands here
 And hang them everywhere:
 Then let his Altars be o'erspread
 With Roses fresh and red:
 Burn Gums and Spice,
 Rich Sacrifice.
 The Gods so bounteous are, ye know,
 Ye mortals cannot pay them what ye owe."

This scene is followed by one in which Philaretus, in shepherd garb, sings the praises of love. Scene third is devoted to a conversation between Castarina and Arismena, in which the latter explains why she has forsworn love.

"Now fie on love, it ill befits,
 Or man or woman know it,
 Love was not meant for people in their wits,
 And they that fondly shew it
 Betray their too much feather'd brains,
 And shall have only Bedlam for their pains.

To love, is to distract my sleep,
 And waking, to wear fetters,
 To love, is but to go to School to weep,
 I'll leave it for my betters.
 If single love be such a curse,
 To marry, is to make it ten times worse."

Castarina, doubting her words, accuses her of loving Philaretus. This she denies to Castarina's great joy, because she herself loves Philaretus. At this point Philaretus enters and Arismena begs him to become reconciled to his father, because his love for her is useless. The act closes with the visit of Lariscus to the shrine of Apollo. The God is discovered playing his harp in accompaniment to a song of the Sybils:—

"We to thy Harp, Apollo, sing,
 Whilst others to thy Altars bring
 Their humble prayers
 For length of daies.
 Or else for knowledge of their Fates,
 Which by their prayers thou renovates,
 And dost renew
 Not as their due,
 But as their worth, incites thy love
 To shower thy blessing from above."

Lariscus kneels and invokes the god,

“Shall Castarina be my Love?
Speak Apollo, and if she prove
But kind unto my vows, I swear
I'll offer Incense every year,
And oft my grateful thanks return,
And Spices on thy Altars burn.”

Apollo answers :

“Thou shalt finde crosses in thy love,
Yet time may make them blessings prove;
For when the Virgins o're the Herse
Have plac'd the Garland and sad verse,
And bath'd the cold earth with their tears,
Thy hope shall overcome thy fears.
And till that she be dead, shall not
Enjoy thy love: unty the knot.”

Lariscus complains of the obscurity of the oracle, but the god vouchsafes no explanation.

Meanwhile Bracheus, the father of Arismena, has tried to discover by various tricks whether his daughter really loves Philaretus. She refuses to entertain the thought of marriage. Philaretus overhears the conversation and is filled with despair. At this opportune moment Castarina appears and suggests to Philaretus that he should love where he would find his love rewarded. He yields to her, and as they embrace, Arismena and Lariscus return. The former now realizes for the first time that she really loves Philaretus. She accordingly makes an agreement with Lariscus that they feign love, and so separate the pair. The ruse is successful. Philaretus, on seeing Arismena in the arms of another, feels his old love revive. This feeling is intensified when he rescues Arismena from a satyr. He decides to reject the love of Castarina, and challenges Lariscus to a duel. The two shepherdesses, however, resolve to stop the duel. They follow their lovers to the field and threaten to fight a duel together unless the men desist. This threat has the desired effect, and the lovers are about to embrace when the whole company is carried off by satyrs. The leader

of the band of satyrs is Paromet (father of Castarina), who has taken the disguise of a satyr. He has some difficulty in restraining the unruly herd. They place the maidens in coffins and sing over them a solemn dirge. The other characters of the play are captured and brought in bound. All are overcome with grief at the death of the shepherdesses. The maidens, however, arise from their coffins, the lovers are united and the oracle fulfilled.

The chief comedy element of the play is supplied by the adventures of the servant Graculus with the satyrs. Some of the scenes describing these are extremely amusing. The incident of the duel is original and well-managed. The mock funeral, however, is weak, and the conduct of Paromet is not sufficiently explained. He has been exiled for some unknown cause, and is received back into favor for an unexplained reason.

Goffe does not appear to have borrowed much from the Italian pastoral dramatists, yet in general the play adopts the Italian model. Arismena, the careless shepherdess, belongs of course to the type of the heart-free Arcadian (cf. Tasso's Silvia and Daniel's Cloris). The faithful shepherd is represented by Lariscus. The oracle is borrowed from Dürfè's *Astrée* (see also Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*). Graculus reminds us of one of Lyly's pages, and is rather out of place in Arcadia. The disguised satyr is a curious invention of the author. In one respect the play differs from most pastoral dramas. It represents a class of gentlemen in Arcadia who are above the rank of shepherds. Traditionally, the shepherds themselves were the aristocrats—the highest class in the community. This tradition was not always adhered to in the pastoral romances, and it is from this source that Goffe probably drew. However, Philaretus and his father Cleobulus are true Arcadians, and might just as well have been classed as "rich shepherds."

Goffe pays more attention to supernatural characters than either Daniel or Fletcher, but does not give in any sense a

mythological coloring to the play. Apollo is brought on the stage, but takes no part in the action or dialogue, save to speak the oracle. Silvia, a kind of patron saint to the shepherds, appears in one scene where she performs the office usually assigned to a priest of Pan. The satyrs take considerable part in carrying on the plot. One attacks Arismena, another Graculus; and all combine under the leadership of Paromet to capture the whole company of Arcadians.

No satiric nor allegorical meaning can be detected in *The Careless Shepherdess*. The drama must, therefore, be judged in respect to plot-construction and character-delineation. It is needless to say that it has little merit in either respect. Yet the characters do not impress the reader with the unsubstantial unreality of most pastoral characters, and the plot has movement and a few really good situations.¹ In poetic merit *The Careless Shepherdess* falls below Daniel's plays and infinitely below Fletcher's. The dirge sung over the shepherdesses is especially weak, and with the exception of a few passages the general character of the verse is trivial and commonplace. The introduction of comic scenes in prose was an innovation in pastoral drama. This would certainly have been regarded as a blemish by Goffe's contemporaries. There was a general impression abroad that a pastoral should not descend to prose, and even Ben Jonson, with all his contempt for pastoral traditions (see prologue to *Sad Shepherd*), thought it best to write the comic scenes of his *Sad Shepherd* in poetic form. These prose scenes in *The Careless Shepherdess* certainly are incongruous with the general spirit of the play, but this is not due to the fact that they are written in prose. The incongruity arises from the introduction into these scenes of the character of Graculus, who is not in any sense a pastoral character.

¹ E. g., the duel, IV, 7, and the scene between the satyr and Graculus, IV, 5.

Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry,¹ was the chief dramatic venture of Thomas Randolph. The author was educated at Cambridge, where he held both minor and major-fellowships, and received his M. A. degree in the year 1632. While he was at Cambridge, Randolph wrote two dramatic satires, also a comedy, *The Jealous Lovers*, which was presented by the Trinity students before the king and queen in 1632. During his residence in London (1632-'33), Randolph wrote *The Muses Looking Glasse*, an allegorical satiric play, which was acted with success. He mingled with the poets and wits of the day, and was especially fortunate in gaining the friendship of Ben Jonson, who doubtless helped him in many ways. Randolph soon became known by his poems, several of which were pastoral. *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*, was written sometime during the years 1632 to 1634. Randolph's promising career was cut short by his death in 1635, at the age of thirty years.

The scene of *Amyntas* is laid in Sicily, and "the action takes place in an astrological day, from noon to noon." The prologue is in the form of a comic dialogue between a nymph and a shepherd. In this Randolph explains his conception of pastoral poetry as follows:—

"*Shepherd.* Gentlemen, look not from us rural swaines
For polished speech, high lines, or courtly strains
Expect not we should bring a labored scene
Or compliments; we know not what they mean.

Nymph. And, ladies, we poor country girls do come
With such behaviour as we learned at home.
How shall we talk to nymphs so trim and gay,
That ne'er saw lady yet but at a May?"

Randolph's Arcadians, however, do not correspond with this conception. We look in vain for rude shepherds or rustic

¹ The title-page reads: *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*. A pastoral acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall. Written by Thomas Randolph. "*Pastorem, Tityre, pingues Pascere oportet oves, diductum dicere Carmen.*" Oxford . . . 1638.

shepherdesses. Nothing could be more "polished or courtly" than Amarillis's defence of her lover,¹ or Damon's remorseful words.²

At the opening of the play, Arcadia is represented as suffering under the curse of Ceres. An oracle has been received from the goddess to this effect :—

" Sicilian swaines, ill-luck shall long betide
To every bridegroom and to every bride
Till Caius' blood both quench and kindle fire;
The wise shall misconceive me, and the wit,
Scorned and neglected, shall my meaning hit."

On receiving this oracle, Caius (the father of Amarillis, the heroine) fled the country. Amarillis is in love with Damon, but her love is not returned for Damon is more attracted by her friend Laurinda. Laurinda is wooed also by the shepherd Alexis, and her impartial treatment of Damon and Alexis furnishes some of the most amusing scenes of the play. Finally she discovers that Amarillis is in love with Damon. She decides, therefore, to accept Alexis, and for this purpose arranges a plot to deceive her rival lovers. She makes them promise to leave the decision to the first maid they meet coming from the temple the next morning. Then she arranges that Amarillis shall go first to the temple. The plan miscarries for Damon, meeting Amarillis at the temple supposes she has purposely put herself in his way. Without waiting for her decision, he wounds her with his spear and leaves her lying on the ground apparently dead. When she revives she refuses to reveal the name of her assailant, though commanded to do so by the priest. This generous act conquers Damon, who pleads for her love and forgiveness. Laurinda now is free to accept Alexis. The oracle is declared fulfilled, because Caius' blood (i. e., Amarillis) has quenched and kindled fire (i. e., the love of Damon). Caius returns just before the fulfilment of the oracle. There is

¹ IV, 8.

² IV, 9.

much that is truly pathetic in the scene which describes his return. On the first sight of his home he exclaims,

"I see the smoke stream from the cottage tops
The fearful housewife rakes the embers up
All hush to bed. Sure no man will disturb me.
O Blessed Valley! I the wretched Caius
Salute thy happy soil."

Interwoven with this plot is the wooing of Amyntas and Urania. Amyntas has received an oracle as follows:—

"That which thou hast not, mayst not, canst not have
Amyntas is the dowry that I crave.
Rest hopeless in thy love or else divine
To give Urania this, and she is thine."

Naturally enough, Amyntas lost his wits trying to interpret this oracle. His mad conversations furnish part of the comedy element in the play. Finally he is cured by Caius, and the oracle is interpreted to mean "a husband." The chief comedy element is supplied by the servant Dorylas, by Mopsus, a foolish augur, and by Jocastus, a fantastic shepherd. The hallucinations of Mopsus and Jocastus verge on madness, and both are cleverly deluded by Dorylas.

This intricate plot is developed with considerable skill. The three pairs of lovers are kept distinct; their trials are due to different causes, and solved by different methods. Each lover, moreover, is thoroughly individualized, and each arouses our sympathy. There are many dramatic situations, the most powerful being in the fourth and fifth acts. In general the plot seems well adapted for representation on the stage, especially if the nonsense of "the augur" Mopsus and "the faery knight" Jocastus had a definite meaning to the audience.

Halliwell-Phillipps, commenting on this play, says, "It is one of the finest specimens of pastoral poetry in the language, partaking of the best properties of Guarini's and Tasso's poetry, without being a servile imitation of either." This

praise is rather excessive. The quality of the poetry in a few scenes of *Amyntas* may be said to approach Guarini, but as a whole Randolph's play is altogether below comparison with either *Aminta* or *Il Pastor Fido*. The farcial element in Randolph's play is excessive, and is moreover trivial and fantastic. The mere outline of the main plot somewhat resembles that of *Il Pastor Fido*. Both plays open with Arcadia under a cloud of the wrath of an incensed goddess, and the final scene in each play is the sacrifice of the priest's son, averted by an ingenious interpretation of the oracle. In characterization Randolph appears more original; the priests are of course conventional, Amarillis also bears the pastoral stamp, but most of the characters do not suggest pastoral types. Laurinda is thoroughly individual. Her various devices to keep both her lovers in subjection form the most enjoyable scenes of the play. The characters of Jocastus, Mopsus and Dorylas in no way suggest pastoral influence. Dorylas reminds us of one of Lyly's pages, or he may have been suggested to Randolph by Graculus in Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, or by Joculo in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*. The persecution of Jocastus by the supposed fairies (III, 4) may have been suggested by the similar trick on Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (V, 5), but the indebtedness of Randolph is very slight. The wooing of Damon by Amarillis (the forward shepherdess) shows, according to Mr. Hazlitt, the influence of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Shakespeare's Helena and Demetrius, however, as well as Randolph's Amarillis and Damon are borrowed from pastoral tradition.

Amyntas is written entirely in blank verse, save the oracles and the letter of Amarillis, which are in rhymed heroic verse. There are no songs introduced into the play except those of the fairies which curiously enough are in Latin. The author does not appear to have had any satiric or allegorical purpose, but to have sought to interest his audience by the clever interweaving of incidents; by farcial nonsense and horse play in the comic scenes; and by the poetic beauty of the pathetic

scenes. In the main Randolph depends less on the Italian pastoral dramatists than either Daniel or Fletcher. *Amyntas* may be classed with Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, as an attempt to popularize the pastoral drama by increasing the comic element and somewhat subordinating the highly idealized scenes of the Italian pastoral drama.

The Shepherds' Holiday,¹ by Joseph Rutter, may be classed with Daniel's plays, for it was an attempt to construct without plagiarism an English pastoral drama on Italian models. This play is the only extant work of Rutter, except a translation of Corneille's *The Cid*. Joseph Rutter was tutor in the family of the Earl of Dorset, and to him Rutter dedicated *The Shepherds' Holiday*. The play was first printed in the year 1635. Sometime previous it had been acted at Whitehall before their Majesties. The play was also performed at the Cock-pit, but with what success we do not know.² It had one sturdy admirer at least in Ben Jonson, who wrote the following lines in its praise :

"I have read
And weigh'd your play ; untwisted every thread,
And know the woof and warp thereof ; can tell
Where it runs round and even ; where so well,
So soft, and smooth it handles, the whole piece,
As it were, spun by nature off the fleece."

In the prologue Rutter disclaims all satiric intention. Like almost all pastoral dramatists he considered it necessary to give his ideal of what a pastoral should be.

"A Shepheards muse gently of love doth sing,
And with it mingles no impurer thing
And if there be not in 't what they call wit
There might have been, had it been thought so fit."

¹ *The Shepherds Holy-day*. A pastorall tragi-Comoedie. Acted before their Majesties at Whitehall by the Queen's Servants. With an elegy on the death of the most Noble Lady, the Lady Venetia Digby. London . . . 1635.

² See Fleay, *Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, II, 173.

These lines represent a common view of the office of the pastoral, that it should be emotional rather than intellectual, and that its main theme should be love.

The play opens with the lament of Thirsis for Sylvia, whom he fears has been carried off by wild beasts. This calamity is but the culmination of his woe which began with his receiving an oracle.

"Thou shalt enjoy thy Sylvia on that day
Thou art not Thirsis nor she Sylvia."

Thirsis is so overcome with grief that he refuses to accompany the shepherds to the court to play before the king. In a complementary scene Hylas protests his constancy to Nerina, who has been promised by her father to another shepherd Daphnis. At first Hylas does not succeed, for Nerina prizes her freedom. She is also wooed in vain by Daphnis, who sends her as a gift a magic mirror. Meanwhile Daphnis is annoyed by the advances of the shepherdess Dorinda.

In the third act the scene changes to the court,¹ where the lost Sylvia (the King's daughter) is kept in captivity. She confesses to her maid that she had lived some months among the shepherds disguised as a shepherdess, and had learned to love Thirsis, the sweetest singer among them. In the next scene the King's chief counsellor tells his son of an oracle received by the King many years before.

"If e'er thy issue male thou live to see
The child thou thinkest is thine, thine shall not be:
His life shall be obscure, twice shall thy hate
Doom him to death. Yet shall he escape that fate:
And thou shall live to see, that not long after
Thy only son shall wed thy only daughter."

The counsellor also reveals the fact that Sylvia (supposed to be the King's daughter) is really his own child.

¹The "court" element in Rutter's play is so completely overshadowed by the pastoral that the drama is classed with the strictly pastoral plays rather than with the plays combining court and pastoral elements, such as *Love's Labyrinth*.

When the shepherds arrive at the court, they proceed to rehearse a masque and Thirsis is forced to help them against his will. Sylvia sends a message to Thirsis arranging a meeting. Though overjoyed to find her alive, his melancholy returns when he discovers her high rank. The lovers are discovered together and condemned to death. Meanwhile Nerina, through the influence of the magic glass, has fallen into a violent sickness, which threatens to end in her death. She calls for Hylas; and her father, fearing for her life, agrees that she shall become his wife. Nerina soon after falls into a trance which all believe to be death. They place her in a tomb, and Hylas laments her in a beautiful elegy. Afterwards Daphnis comes to the grave with a flask of water which is to undo the spell of the glass. He recovers Nerina and tries to force her to marry him. Hylas rescues her from her persecutor. Daphnis in disgrace wanders apart, but is met by Dorinda, who still loves him. To her great joy he now consents to marry her. Meanwhile the king's executioner has discovered a necklace on Thirsis which proves that he is the king's lost son. The counsellor now reveals the fact that Sylvia is his own daughter, and so Thirsis and Sylvia are united and the oracles exactly fulfilled.

This complex and interesting plot is very skilfully managed. The three pairs of lovers are kept distinct and their fortunes interest us throughout the play. The obscure oracles are cleverly fulfilled. The main fault is in Act V, Sc. 4, where an opportunity for a powerful scene is lightly passed over. In this scene the courtier, Cleander, relates how Thirsis was led to death, and how his identity was discovered. This incident would have made a powerful scene, and it is difficult to understand why Rutter preferred to have it related instead of acted. The last two acts contain considerable "court" element which is remote from the pastoral, especially in the introduction of a masque. In general, however, Rutter preserves consistently the pastoral atmosphere. The customary lament for the loss of the "golden age" is introduced (A. I,

S. 4), we find likewise a firm belief in oracles prevalent. The "court" characters, the king and his counsellor, are mere shadows and do not play any prominent part in the action. Most of the characters represent the common types, the heart-free shepherdess, Nerina; the forward shepherdess, Dorinda; the lustful shepherd, Daphnis; the magician, Alcon. Mirtilus may be regarded as a refinement on the conventional lustful shepherd. He is a trifler, a gallant, and his introduction adds a comedy element that is very pleasing. Rutter borrowed largely from Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*, especially in the early scenes of the drama. The characters of Thirsis and Dorinda conform in the main to their originals, Tasso's Thirsi and Guarini's Dorinda. The incidents at court were probably taken from some pastoral romance, but they may have been original with Rutter.

The Shepherds' Holiday is written in blank verse save a few rhymed couplets at the end of scenes. There are four songs introduced which are in "fours and threes," or in octosyllabic couplets. Judged simply as a pastoral poem, the drama has many excellent passages.

"Never any love
Was bought with other price than love,
Since nothing is more precious than itself
It being the purest abstract of that fire
Which wise Prometheus first endowed us with:
And he must love that would be loved again." I, 2.

"The messages which come to do us hurt
Are speedy, but the good comes slowly on." IV, 2.

"It is better
Always to live a miserable life
Than once to have been happy." V, 1.

"All the world to me
Will be Arcadia, if I may enjoy
Thy company, my love." IV, 3.

In Act IV, Sc. 1 we have a short pastoral poem in which the lover laments over the grave of his dead mistress. The

sonnet on sleep, recited by Mirtillus in the third act, has considerable merit ; as has the song of Venus in the masque.

The personal allusions mentioned by Mr. Fleay and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt are purely conjectural. Mr. Fleay thinks that *Stella*, mentioned in the fifth act, second scene, is Lady Venetia Digby, but it is altogether improbable that Rutter would cast a slur on his patroness.¹ Mr. Hazlitt thinks that "Sir Kenelm Digby's intimacy with a certain royal personage" is represented by Thirsis and Sylvia. This interpretation is scarcely permissible for Sylvia is really the daughter of the king's counsellor and Thirsis the king's own son.

As a whole Rutter's play compares favorably with the pastoral dramas of Daniel and belongs to the same general type. Rutter does not preserve the pastoral coloring so consistently as Daniel, nor does he follow so closely his Italian originals.

Rutter's play completes the list of English pastoral dramas constructed on the Italian model. None of the six plays considered can be called a slavish imitation. All are in the main original in plot, but the characters have a close family likeness, and certain incidents appear again and again. Daniel follows his models the most faithfully ; Fletcher preserves best the poetic atmosphere, and professedly seeks to rival, not imitate, the Italian dramatists. Goffe and Randolph seek to enliven their portrayal of pastoral life by the introduction of English types, and Rutter has recourse to the court element to add contrast and increase the interest of his readers. The Italian pastoral dramatists with all their faults had at least produced successful acting plays. This can scarcely be said of the English dramatists who imitated them. Still less successful from an actor's point of view were the English dramatists who tried to strike out new paths in the portrayal of pastoral life. The six pastoral dramas remaining are dramatic experiments by poets unschooled in stage methods, and were written for some special occasion or merely for recreation.

¹ Note Rutter's elegy on the same lady published with the play.

On May 3, 1631, a pastoral drama, called *Rhodon and Iris*,¹ was performed at the Florists' feast in Norwich. The author, Ralph Knevet, was tutor or chaplain in the family of Sir Wm. Paston of Oxnead. Very little is known concerning the life of Knevet. He was born in the year 1600 and died in 1671. For the last six years of his life he was rector at Lyng, Norfolk, and within the chancel of his church may still be seen a stone bearing the letters Ra. Kn. His writings were not extensive: besides *Rhodon and Iris* he wrote *A Discourse of Militarie Discipline* in verse (1628), *Some Funeral Elegies* to the memory of his patroness, Lady Katherine Paston (1637); and *A Gallery to the Temple*, sacred poems, which were never printed. His drama, therefore, represents the attempt of a man, with small title to the name of poet, and none at all to that of playwright, to construct an acting drama for a special occasion. Naturally the attempt was unsuccessful, and in all probability the play was acted but once and only once printed. Still, the drama is distinctly original; it contains an ingenious allegory, and a number of strong lines.

Rhodon and Iris aims to represent allegorically the relation and properties of various plants and flowers under the guise of pastoral characters. It is due entirely to pastoral influence, it has the pastoral atmosphere and the characters, though named after various flowers, and in a way symbolizing these flowers, are yet referred to as shepherds and shepherdesses. On the plains of Thessaly they carry out their various love intrigues, and both in word and action conform to the traditional Arcadian type. Indeed, if one should change the names of the characters and cut out an allusion here and there, the allegory would vanish and a strictly pastoral drama would remain. Prefixed to the printed edition is the Dedication to Mr. Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham, selected for the

¹ *Rhodon and Iris*. A pastorall, as it was presented at the Florists Feast in Norwich, May 3, 1631. Urbis Et Orbis gloria Flora. London, 1631. Then follows the dedication signed Ra. Knevet.

honor, because he was "addicted to a speculation of the virtues and beauties of all flowers." A letter follows addressed to the author's "much respected friends, the Society of Florists." In this letter Knevet praises the beauty of flowers; commends the feasts of the Society, because "not given to rioting," but to a "civil and unspotted meeting," and disclaims all satiric purpose for his play. Both in this letter, and in the commendatory verses which follow, there is evidence that the play aroused opposition because of some supposed satire contained in it. In the prologue Knevet announces his allegorical intent,

"Candid spectators, you that are invited
To see the Lily and the Rose united;
Consider that this Comedy of ours,
A Nosegay is composed of sundry flowers."

After the usual ridicule of the opinions of the groundlings, and an appeal to those of higher understanding, the author naïvely declares,

"That he no small foole is, though a small Poet."

Rhodon and Iris is constructed on the simplest lines. Martagon (the proud or covetous shepherd) encroaches upon the lands of the shepherdess Violetta. She applies for aid to her brother Rhodon, who marshals his friends and declares war upon Martagon. As the two hosts are about to join battle the goddess Flora appears, bids them put up their swords and forces Martagon to make restitution to Violetta. The love episodes of the play comprise the wooing of Iris by Rhodon, and the attempt of the shepherdess Eglantine to win the love of Rhodon by means of a love-philter. Poneria (Envy) is the originator of the strife. She calls in Agnostus (Ignorance) to aid her, and together they encourage Martagon in his pride. Poneria also makes a tool of Eglantine, giving her a poisoned draught instead of a love-philter for Rhodon. Rhodon, however, is cured by Panace and the plot fails.

Such in brief is the story, but the extreme rarity of the play justifies a more detailed account. The first scene intro-

duces the evil agents, Poneria and Agnostus. The latter rails at the light of day. Poneria suggests to him that his wrath might better be turned against the florists,

“This is the day whereon the new Society of
Florists, have determined to keepe their annual festivals.
..... Art and Nature both have try’d
To make this Feast surpass all feasts beside
Unite thy force with mine, then ten to one
We shall disturbe their mirth, e’re we have done.”

The second scene is devoted to a discussion of love by Rhodon and his friend Acanthus. Rhodon relates that he was “advised by his indulgent stars” not to bestow his love on Eglantine. Acanthus (type, the heart-free shepherd) exults in his freedom from love’s yoke,—

“When Sol shall make the Easterne Seas his bed,
When Wolves and Sheepe shall be together fed;
When Starres shall fall, and planets cease to wander,
When Juno proves a Bawd, and Jupiter a Pander;
When Venus shal turn Chast, and Bacchus become sober,
When fruit in April’s ripe, that blossom’d in October;
When Prodigals shall money lend on use,
And Usurers prove lavish and profuse;
When Art shal be esteem’d, and golden pelfe laid down,
When Fame shal tel all truth, and Fortune cease to frown,
To Cupid’s yoke then I my neck will bow;
Till then, I will not feare loves fatal blow.”

In the next scene Eglantine, overcome with grief at the desertion of Rhodon, sings to the accompaniment of her lute:—

“Upon the blacke Rocke of despaire
My youthfull joys are perish’d quite,
My hopes are vanish’d into ayre,
My day is turn’d to gloomy night:
For since my Rhodon deare is gone,
Hope, light, nor comfort, have I none.

A cell, where grieve the Landlord is,
Shall be my palace of delight;
Where I will woove with votes and sighes,
Sweet death to end my sorrowes quite;

Since I have lost my Rhodon deare,
 Death's fleshlesse armes why should I feare?

Touched by the grief of Eglantine, her servant, Clematis invokes the aid of Diana :—

“Thou gentle goddesse of the woods and mountains
 That in the woods and mountains art ador'd,
 The Maiden patronesse of chaste desires,
 Who art for chastity renowned most,
 Tresgrand Diana, who hast power to cure
 The rankling wounds of Cupid's golden arrowes;
 Thy precious balsome deigne thou to apply,
 Unto the heart of wofull Eglantine;
 Then we thy gracious favour will requite
 With a yong Kid, than new falne snow more white.”

In the fourth scene Martagon, the tyrant, who has oppressed Violetta, and Cynosbatus, the brother of Eglantine, comment on the desertion of Rhodon. Martagon secretly rejoices because he wants no tie formed between Cynosbatus and Rhodon that might oblige the former to champion Rhodon's sister Violetta. In the last scene of the act Rhodon visits Iris, immediately falls in love and begins to woo her. Acanthus, forgetting his scorn of love, pays suit to Panace, a shepherdess, skilled in the use of herbs (this is a type constantly appearing in the pastoral dramas, but is usually represented by some old man or woman). A messenger brings a letter from Violetta complaining of Martagon's usurpation and imploring aid from Rhodon. Rhodon decides to try first a friendly treaty, then if necessary declare war.

In act second Poneria disguises Agnostus with the robe of virtue and the cap of knowledge. They decide

“To delude the world,
 And set the flowers at ods among themselves
 That they in civil enmities embroyled,
 Shall of their pride and glory be dispoyl'd.”

First they meet with Eglantine, who is on the point of taking her life. They dissuade her from the thought of suicide

and promise her by magic to bring back Rhodon's love for her. The last scene of the act describes the meeting of Rhodon and Martagon. Rhodon appeals to the usurper to restore Violetta's lands. Martagon refuses and defies both Rhodon and Acanthus. Rhodon replies,

"Tenacious Tyrant in whose flinty heart
Nor equity nor justice, ere had part,
Thy guilty soul shall feel Revenges hand."

The first scene of act third is pure comedy. Clematis enumerates the dresses, cosmetics and lotions which her mistress has been induced to procure by Poneria. Another servant rails at her for being "a tattling chamber maid" and a quarrel ensues. In the next scene Poneria gives Eglantine a love-philter for Rhodon, and tells her that she will arrange a meeting in the myrtle-grove where Eglantine shall counterfeit Iris. Meanwhile Martagon and Cynosbatus, having marshaled their forces, visit the haunt of Poneria to learn what will be the result of the battle. Another scene describes the preparations on the other side. Acanthus, eager for battle, charges Rhodon with "tedious cunctations." He urges him to order an advance:—

"For now our hostile forces are assembled,
Covering the fields from Ossa to Olympus.
Their painted banners with the windes are playing:
Their pamper'd coursers thunder on the plains:
The splendour of their glistening armes repels
The bashfull sun-beames back unto the clouds.
Their bellowing drums and trumpets shrill,
Doe many sad corrantos sound
Which danger grim and sprawling death must dance."

III, 4.

In the first scene of act fourth Iris bewails the necessity of war, and especially the threatened danger to Rhodon. She sends a gem to Rhodon which will insure victory. Violetta also sends a precious herb to her brother to protect him from enchantments. Then the two maidens go to the shrine of

Flora to implore the interposition of the goddess. In the next scene Poneria assures Martagon that he will be victorious. Then she prepares the poison to be given by the innocent Eglantine to Rhodon. Scene third discloses Rhodon and Acanthus waiting in the myrtle grove for the expected visit of Iris. Rhodon asks,

“What houre of night is ’t friend Acanthus?
Ac.: Th’ eleventh at least; for see Orion hath
 Advanced very high his starry locks in our horizon.
Rh.: Methinks the stars looke very ruddy,
 As if they did portend tempestuous weather.
Ac.: They doe but blush to see what crimes are acted
 By mortall under covert of the night.”

The conversation is interrupted by the approach of Eglantine disguised as Iris. After the greetings Eglantine says,

“The sodaine newes of this warre made
 Me transgress modesty. And here I do
 Bestow this viall, a potion made
 By wondrous art. It cheers the heart,
 Prevents dreams,
 And cures all griefes of body and of minde.
 Drink it this night before you sleep.”

Rhodon accepts the supposed love-philter and makes the desired promise.

In the first scene of act fifth Panace cures Rhodon from the effects of the poison. The next two scenes are taken up with the rejoicing of Martagon and Poneria over the supposed death of Rhodon. Poneria promises Agnostus he shall be made general of the army. In scene four Rhodon learns that Eglantine and not Iris gave him the poison. He delays no longer, but pushes forward the preparations for the battle. In the next scene Acanthus challenges Martagon to single combat, but his foe prefers a general battle of all the forces. In the last scene the battle array is described by Acanthus. Just as the troops are about to engage in battle, Flora enters, “aroused from her peaceful bower by the din of arms,” and

by her divine power establishes peace, banishes the evil agents and unites the lovers. The play concludes with a short epilogue:—

“Since Ignorance and Envie now are banish’d;
 Since discord from among the flowers is vanish’d;
 Since Rhodon is espous’d to Iris bright;
 Since warre hath happy Thessaly left quite,
 Let every one that loves his Countries peace,
 His height of gladnesse with his hands expresse.”

As a first attempt at dramatic writing *Rhodon and Iris* is remarkable. The plot is so arranged that all the characters are introduced in the first act and differentiated without the slightest confusion. Moreover, each scene of this act introduces a new motive: the plottings of the evil agents, Rhodon’s explanation of his desertion of Eglantine, Clematis’ design of suicide, the coalition of Martagon and Cynosbatus, Rhodon’s meeting with and love for Iris, and the complaint of Violetta.

The second act drags a little, but contains several good situations, e. g., the attempted suicide of Eglantine, and the conference of Martagon and Rhodon. Act third is largely taken up with repetition, but develops the character of Acanthus, and describes Martagon’s alliance with the powers of evil. Act fourth contains several good scenes; the anxiety of Iris and Violetta for Rhodon, the meeting of Eglantine and Rhodon in the myrtle grove leading to the climax of the supposed death of Rhodon from the poison. The first scene of act five should have contained the curing of Rhodon by Panace, instead of merely her words, stating her intention of doing so. The other scenes might have been condensed into one ending with the establishment of peace by Flora. The comedy element might well have been increased. There are only two scenes that could be so considered.¹ However, there is much humor in the satiric passages.

Knevet’s dramatic material was scarcely sufficient for the length of the play. But this censure would apply to the

¹ III, 1, and V, 3.

majority of pastoral dramas; and Knevet is not the greatest offender by any means. In the opening scene of the play alone Knevet's object is not clear. One expects here the plotting of the evil agents to arouse strife in Thessaly,¹ instead of their plan to disturb the meeting of the Florists. This scene might have been introduced more appropriately as a prologue, and the play have opened with Act I, Sc. 2. In the conduct of the plot the chief weaknesses are the following:—Rhodon's desertion of Eglantine is not sufficiently explained, and Iris is given too subordinate a part in the action. In regard to the characters, the introduction of purely allegorical figures, like Agnostus and Poneria into a pastoral drama, is something of an innovation. We have seen how, in *Hymen's Triumph*, Daniel admitted similar characters into the prologue, but not into the drama itself. In *Rhodon and Iris* these allegorical characters do not disturb the general pastoral coloring; for Poneria takes the part usually assigned in pastorals to the witch or sorceress, and Agnostus may be regarded as her servant. The introduction of war, however, is somewhat out of place in Arcadia. Most pastoral writers would have subordinated this element and given greater prominence to the love-motive.

Very little praise can be given to Knevet's verse. He was certainly right in his admission that he was a small poet. In general he attempted iambic verse, varying the number of feet in a line to suit his own convenience and rhyming wherever he chose. Some of his lines defy all attempts at scansion, though evidently intended for verses.

It is difficult to believe that satire of so general an interest as that of *Rhodon and Iris* should have come near involving the author in difficulties; but such seems to have been the case, if we are to judge from the letter and commendatory verses prefixed to the play. The old subject of female extravagance in dress is satirized at length. Eglantine thinks "of all

¹ The reader does not learn of this plot until II, 1.

fashions change is the best," and under the direction of Poneria (Envy) she sends for

"Chains, coronets, pendans, bracelets and ear-rings,
Pins, girdles, spangles, embroyderies, rings,
Shadowes, rebatos, ribbands, ruffles, cuffs and fals;
Scarfes, feathers, fans, maskes, muffes, laces and cals;
Thin teffanies, copweb-lawne and fardingals,
Sweet-bals, vayles, wimples, glasses, crisping-pins;
Pots, oyntments, combs, with poking-sticks and bodkins,
Coyfes, gorgets, fringes, rowles, fillets and haire-laces,
Silks, damasks, velvet, tinsels, cloth of gold,
And tissue, with colours of a hundreth fold." III, 1.

The perfumes and lotions are next enumerated for about thirty lines. Politicians come in for their share of satire. Cynosbatus regrets that Rhodon has so ignobly died and Martagon replies,

"Thou art too ceremonious for a politician,
And too superstitious: our duties 'tis to judge
Of the effect as it concernes the state of our affaires,
And not to looke backe on the meanes by which 'twas wrought.
He is unfit to rule a Civill State
That knowes not how in some respects to favour
Murther, or treason, or any other sinne,
Which that subtile animal, call'd man,
Doth openly protest against, for this end
That he may more freely act it in private
As his occasions may invite him to 't." V, 2.

But perhaps the keenest shafts of satire are leveled at "Moderne Captains."

"*Poneria*: I tell thee I will procure thee a Capitaines place.
Agnostus: But I am altogether ignorant in the words of command
And know not one posture neither of Musket or Pike.
Pon: Hast wit enough to swallow the dead payes,
And to patch up thy Company in a Mustring day:
Hast valour enough to weare a Buffe-jerken
With three gold laces?
Hast strength enough to support a Dutch felt
With a flaunting Feather?
Can thy side endure to be wedded to a Rapire

Hatch'd with gold, with hilt and hangers of
 The new fashion?
 Canst drinke, drab, and dice?
 Canst damne thy selfe into debt among
 Beleeving Tradesmen?
 Hast manners enogh to give thy Lieutenant,
 Antient or Sergent leave to goe before thee
 Upon any peece of danger?
 Hast wit enough, in thy anger, not to draw a sword?
 These are the chiefe properties that pertaine
 To our modern Capitaines." V, 3.

The passage which brought down censure upon the author was probably the following :—

"The light of day is
 The Mistris of disquiet and unrest, and breeds
 More trouble in the world then one of my yong
 Hungry Lawyers doth in a Common-Wealth,
 Or a schismatical selfe-conceited
 Coxcombe in an antient Corporation." I, 1.

Possibly the same person is satirized in these words of Poneria :—

"*Agnostus*: How heavy is authority? *Poneria*: 'Tis true,
 But not so heavy but an asse may bear it." II, 1.

The chief purpose of the play was undoubtedly to symbolize the properties of the various flowers in an allegorical form readily understood by the audience assembled at the feast of the Florists. The characters in the play are named after the flowers which represent their fundamental traits. Martagon, the Red Lily, is haughty and overbearing; Violetta, timid and easily oppressed. The servant appropriately receives the name of the dependent and clinging Eglantine. The fair physician is called Panace (All-heal); Acanthus (the Thistle) and Cynosbatus (the Bramble) are both defiant and headstrong warriors. In the conduct of the plot many incidents may also have had an allegorical interpretation. The oppression of the Violet by the Red Lily is evident enough; but other interpretations we must leave to the ingenuity of some antiquarian botanist.

The next pastoral drama to be considered, *The Shepherds' Paradise*,¹ by Walter Montague, was also written for a special occasion, and exhibits a unique development of the pastoral influence. This play has long been recorded in the annals of scandal, because it provoked the wrath of William Prynne, and thus was instrumental in causing his imprisonment and mutilation.² *The Shepherds' Paradise* was acted only once, and when it appeared in printed form (1659) was ridiculed for its intelligibility. It is difficult to understand how this play could ever have been acted with success. It is extremely long, containing one hundred and seventy-five pages of closely printed prose;³ it is almost utterly lacking in incident and dramatic

¹ The title-page reads:—*The Shepherds Paradise. A Comedy. Privately acted before the Late King Charles by the Queens Majesty and Ladies of Honour. Written by W. Mountague, Esq., London . . . 1659.* A few copies bear the date 1629, evidently a printer's error for 1659. Note the words, "the *Late* King Charles" in title, and the editor's letter, "These papers have long slept, and are now rais'd to put on immortality." This statement could not have been made in the year 1629.

² The earliest reference to this play is found in a letter from Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated 20th Sept., 1632: "That which the Queen's Majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour, are now practising upon, is a pastoral penned by Mr. Walter Montague, wherein her Majesty is pleased to act a part. as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English." The exact date of first presentation is given in another letter by Mr. Pory, dated 3 Jan., 1633: "On Wednesday next (i. e., Jan. 8) the Queen's pastoral is to be acted in the lower court of Denmark House." (Both letters appear in *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. II, London, 1848.) During these months of preparation and rehearsal (Sept., 1632–Jan., 1633) William Prynne was at work writing his famous *Histrion-Mastix* (printed 1633), and consequently his words in regard to the acting of women gave serious offense to the Queen and her Ladies of Honour. The obnoxious words were, "St. Paul prohibits women to speak publicly in the church, and dares any Christian woman be so more than whorishly impudent, as to act, to speak publicly on a stage, perchance in man's apparel and cut hair." It is not to be wondered at that Prynne lost his ears.

³ *The Shepherds' Paradise* contains about 6,300 lines. *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's longest play, has only 3,933 lines. Since Montague wrote in prose, it is a fair estimate to say that *The Shepherds' Paradise* contains twice as many words as *Hamlet*.

situations; and it is written in an obscure, "courtly" style. The drama impresses one as an adaptation from some pastoral romance made by a writer who knew nothing of stage necessities and had not a spark of dramatic talent. At any rate Montague handles his materials, whether original or borrowed, exactly after the manner of the pastoral romances. The first act of the play maintains the "court" atmosphere. The king of Castile arranges a marriage between his son and the princess of Navarre. The prince, however, falls in love with Fidamira, a lady of the court. His wooing is unsuccessful, for Fidamira loves a courtier named Agenor. The prince resolves to travel in disguise, being especially anxious to visit the *Shepherds' Paradise* (a quiet valley inhabited by royal exiles masquerading as Arcadians). He takes with him Agenor as companion. Fidamira, left alone, is wooed by the king, but succeeds in escaping him by asking as a boon "that which only a King can bestow, Liberty." This being granted she leaves the court and, in the disguise of a "moor," seeks the *Shepherds' Paradise*. This act is comparatively short, and may be regarded as an introduction to the play. The rest of the drama relates what happened in the *Shepherds' Paradise*, and the atmosphere is essentially pastoral. It represents the last stage of pastoral development, when the shepherds and shepherdesses have lost simplicity of manners and forsaken all rural employments, but retain merely the country environment, isolated from the world, and spend their time in subtle arguments on love or refined courtship.¹ There is not a genuine Arcadian among all the inhabitants of the *Shepherds' Paradise*, but the community consists of aristocratic exiles. The place is thus described by one of the inhabitants:—"The peace and settleness of this place is secured by Natures inclosure of it on all sides by impregnableness. . . . At one passage only the rockes seeme to open a way of themselves, so as to let in the King's care in a Garrison which he maintains for safety of the place, which delivers all strangers

¹ See page 12 in Ed. 1659.

to us as sutors, not invaders" (A. II, S. 1). The laws governing this strange community are in brief, first, that a queen be elected by the sisters annually on the first of May; second, that the queen be under thirty years and be chosen for her beauty; third, that both brothers and sisters vow chastity while they remain in the order, and that breach of this law be punishable by death; fourth, that at the end of the year, those who wish to retire and marry may have license to do so; fifth, that strangers be admitted if they can show that their misfortunes have been great; sixth, that there shall be community of all goods and possessions; seventh, that after final dismissal none shall be admitted again; that strangers be admitted by grace of the queen or by particular warrant of the King of the country."

The various discussions and courtships carried on by the inhabitants of the *Shepherds' Paradise* require no detailed account here. The main incidents may be summarized as follows:—The princess of Navarre (*Belesa*), to escape being forced into a marriage with the prince of Castile, flees in disguise to the *Shepherds' Paradise*, and is elected queen. Soon after her election, the prince and Agenor reach the *Shepherds' Paradise*, and are admitted to the society. They quickly forget *Fidamira* and fall in love with the queen. Meanwhile *Fidamira*, disguised as a Moor, gains admission to the society. She encourages the prince in his love for *Belesa*, and accepts philosophically the fickleness of Agenor: "The contemplation of inconstancy has justified Agenor to me; 't has taken off the fault from him and laid it upon nature." She wins the confidence of the queen and in every way forwards the suit of the prince. *Belesa* begins to yield when she learns the high rank of her lover, "for though birth and quality be not the only foundation to build love upon, yet it is a fair roofe to cover it." Finally the king also comes to the *Shepherds' Paradise*. He recognizes *Fidamira* and renews his suit. In the end an old counsellor appears, explains the various disguises, and reveals the relationship of

the characters. Fidamira is really the sister of Belesa, and Agenor is their brother. Belesa marries the prince, but Fidamira refuses the king, preferring to live a maid in the *Shepherds' Paradise*. She is chosen perpetual queen.

The Shepherds' Paradise is written almost entirely in prose. Occasionally a scene will end with a few rhymed couplets; the ceremony at the Tomb of the Founder¹ is in verse; and there are a few tedious love songs. The following lines, written by the prince on the supposed death of the princess of Navarre, and praised by Belesa as "discreetly passionate," will suffice as an illustration of Montague's poetic talent :

"Having allowed my sorrows choyse of paine,
They have chose this, the searching still in vaine
The cause of this strange death, and though on earth
I find more reason for 't, then for her birth,
As curses are much more then blessings due;
Yet that doth not seem strange enough for new
Methinks heaven's wisdom needed not disburse
Such treasure, to resume it for a curse.
But as the benefactor's use, or want,
Doth justify resumng of his grant:
So the recalling her doth but imply
Her want brought heaven unto necessity.
So heav'n did re-impropriate this wealth,
Not to impoverish us but store itselfe.
This then methought did me some reason show,
Because it did transcend all reason so:
Then carried by this rapture up above,
I found that all the gods had been in love
With her, so as their immortality
Would have been tedious to them, if to dye
Had been the way to her, so, to be even
With all their loves, she dy'd and went to heaven."

(IV, 1.)

It is possible that the drama held the interest of the spectators because of its allusions to persons or events of the time: these are difficult to detect now or to verify. Indeed, the play does not appear to have been written with this purpose :

¹ See IV, 1.

the conversations as a rule are devoted to general discussions of various phases of love. There is, however, considerable flattery of Queen Henrietta Maria, who took the part of Belesa.

Montague's style, even if compared with the most artificial of pastoral romances, is unparalleled for obscurity and courtly conceits. Almost every long speech must be studied before its real meaning becomes evident. A few illustrations will suffice. Belesa, in her description of the Shepherds' Paradise, says: "This place is civill onely in making all strangers, of what ever Nation that are not residents ; and for that, that there are none that are not so to virtue and to honour."¹

Agenor, fearing that he will fall in love with the queen and so become false to Fidamira, says :—" My feare was quicker-sighted then my sense, that did propose to me at first the readiest safety that that passion knows, of flying from danger. Which I obeyed so fast, as nothing could have overtaken it ; therefore my curse was forced to meet mee, so to bring mee back ; and now methinks, I am so fixed, I can but move against my feare, for having been so bold as to precede my love. Oh ! how I curse my fear for having disputed so against the Prince's staying here."²

In one of the discussions on the nature of love, Agenor is thus addressed :—" Do you know, Agenor, that they that love after the knowledge of the delivery of their wishes to another are inconstant in the act, for they love another ? For in that instant she is no more her self. And he that will begin againe, must love two at once. For of lovers, none knows which is which."³

These illustrations are not in any way unjust to Montague, for every scene contains thorny sentences which almost defy interpretation. Montague's choice of this obscure style was probably due to his following a somewhat antiquated court fashion. However, he carried it to such an extent that his drama may be regarded as a literary curiosity, or perhaps it may be characterized as a courtier's dream of Utopia written

¹ II, 3.² II, 5.³ See V, 2.

in the pastoral mode. Its condemnation by Sir John Suckling, in his *Sessions of the Poets*, seems altogether deserved. In this well-known poem the various writers of the time are represented as receiving the judgment of Apollo, and Montague's sentence is as follows:—

“Wat Montague now stood forth for his trial,
And did not so much as suspect a denial;
But witty Apollo asked him first of all,
If he understood his own pastoral.
For if he could do it, 't would plainly appear
He understood more than any man there,
And did merit the bays above all the rest;
But the Mounsier was modest, and silence confest.”

Love's Riddle,¹ by Abraham Cowley, though written by a boy of seventeen, loses nothing in comparison with other pastoral dramas. Mr. Edmund Gosse, commenting on this play, speaks of “the precocious humour of the world-wise boy.”² The satiric passages especially reveal maturity of thought. Therefore, there is no injustice in applying to *Love's Riddle* the same method that has been used in the case of other pastoral dramas. Mr. Gosse finds much to praise in the general conduct of the plot, but censures the play because it reveals “no genuine passion, no knowledge of the phenomena of Nature, no observant love of birds and flowers, or the beauties of country life.” In this sentence Mr. Gosse has condemned Cowley's work because it lacked what almost all pastoral poetry lacks, and what was especially wanting in the English pastoral drama. Such criticism is manifestly unjust to Cowley.

The sources of *Love's Riddle* have not been discovered.³ Mr. Gosse maintains that Cowley's play is “a distinct following

¹*Love's Riddle*. A Pastorall Comoedie. Written at the time of his being Kings Scoller in Westminster Schoole, by A. Cowley. London . . . 1638. Cowley left Westminster School in 1636. The play was written probably in 1635.

²*Cornhill Magazine* for Dec., 1876.

³A few passages show the influence of Theocritus and Virgil, e. g., the description of the beechen cup, II, 1; cf. Theocritus, *Idyl*, I; Virgil, *Ecl.*, III.

without imitation of *The Jealous Lovers*, by Thomas Randolph." As a matter of fact the only similarity in the two plays consists in the portrayal of the lustful old women (Truga and Dipsas), and the ridicule of the jargon of the astrologers,¹ both characters of sufficiently frequent occurrence in the earlier drama. It is difficult to see how such similarity can be called "a distinct following." Randolph's play, moreover, is modelled after Plautus, the chief characters being the indulgent father, the spendthrift son, and the pander; Cowley's play is based on pastoral traditions, the principal characters being Alupis, a merry shepherd; Palaemon, a love-sick swain; Hylace, a heart-free shepherdess, and Callidora, a gentlewoman, disguised as a shepherd. Moreover, the incidents in the two plays have no similarity whatsoever.

Love's Riddle is now so easily accessible that a brief outline of the story of the play will suffice. Callidora, the heroine, in order to escape the lust of Aphron, flees into the country and disguises herself as a shepherd. Her brother, Florellus, going in search of her, also disguises himself as a shepherd. Philistus, her lover, joins in the search. Callidora is mistaken for a man and is wooed by two shepherdesses, Bellula and Hylace. Florellus falls in love with Bellula, and being jealous of Callidora seeks satisfaction in a duel. They are parted by Philistus; Callidora's sex is discovered, and a scene of general recognition closes the play. The evil agent, Aphron, is not only pardoned, but is united in marriage to the sister of Philistus. The comedy element in the play is supplied by the merry shepherd, Alupis, in his playful aid to Palaemon's suit for Hylace, and his pretended courtship of Truga. Aphron, who poses as a mad shepherd, may also be regarded as a comic character.

The real Arcadians are the shepherdess, Hylace; Palaemon, her modest lover; and Alupis, a merry misanthrope, who spends his time satirizing city customs. Bellula may be added to these, for though of noble birth she is brought up

¹ Cf. *The Jealous Lovers*, V, 2, with *Love's Riddle*, III, 1.

as a shepherdess. Florellus and Callidora are disguised as Arcadians. Aphron and Clarinus, however, are "court" characters, but they take comparatively minor parts in the play. The old shepherd, Melarnus, and his wife, Truga, somewhat disturb the pastoral coloring, for Melarnus bears an unmistakable stamp of the surly English rustic, and Truga (perhaps borrowed from Randolph) is a stock comedy character.

Although a few scenes are introduced into the play which cannot be termed pastoral, such as the scene at the home of Callidora,¹ and the scene at Clariana's house;² yet in the main the play preserves the Arcadian atmosphere. Callidora says,

"Methinks a sad and drowsie shepheard is
A prodigy in Nature for the woods
Should bee as farre from sorrow, as they are
From sorrow's causes, riches and the like." I, 1.

After dwelling for a time among the shepherds, she praises pastoral life with greater enthusiasm.

"How happy is that man, who in these woods
With secure silence weares away his time!
Who is acquainted better with himselfe
Then others; who so great a stranger is
To Citie follyes, that he knowes them not.
He sits all day upon some mossie hill
His rurall throne, arm'd with his crook, his scepter;
A flowry garland is his country crowne;
The gentle lambes and sheepe his loyall subjects,
Which every yeare pay him their fleecy tribute;
Thus in an humble statelinesse and majestie
He tunes his pipe, the wood's best melody;
And is at once, what many Monarches are not,
Both King and Poet. II, 1.

How consistently pastoral is the description Palaemon gives of his wooing!

"If gifts would win her, she hath had
The daintiest Lambes, the hope of all my flock;
I let my apples hang for her to gather;
The painful Bee did never load my hives

¹ II, 1 (ll. 1-95).

² IV, 1 (ll. 188-368).

With honey, which she tasted not.
 If Poetry would win her, what shade
 Hath not beene Auditor of my amorous pipe?
 What bankes are not acquainted with her prayes?
 Which I have sung in verses, and the shepheards
 Say they are good ones; nay, they call me Poet,
 Although I am not easie to beleewe them.

* * * * *

If shew of grieve had Rhetorick enough
 To move her, I dare sweare she had beene mine
 Long before this; what day did ere peepe forth
 In which I wept not dulier then the morning?
 Which of the winds hath not my sighes encreas'd
 At sundry times? how often have I cryed
Hylace, Hylace, till the docile woods
 Have answered *Hylace*; and every valley
 As if it were my Rivall, sounded *Hylace*.

II, 1.

In the conduct of the plot the actions of Aphron are not sufficiently explained. Is his madness real or feigned? Moreover, his pardon in the end seems hardly justifiable. With these exceptions the plot deserves the praise of Mr. Gosse, "the several threads of intrigues are held well in hand and drawn skilfully together at last." The comedy incidents, if we can pardon the grossness of Truga, are very happily conceived. Especially well-drawn is the character of Alupis.

Love's Riddle is written in blank verse, with a large number of hendecasyllabic lines. Its general character is excellent without being at all remarkable. The lyrics are musical and exhibit a promise at least of Cowley's later work. The song of Alupis is sung by the merry shepherd on every possible occasion:—

"Rise up thou mournfull Swaine,
 For 'tis but a folly
 To be melancholy,
 And get thee thy pipe again.

Come sing away the day,
 For 'tis but a folly
 To be melancholy,
 Let's live here whilst we may."

I, 1.

The lament of Bellula makes a pleasant contrast :—

“ It is a punishment to love,
And not to love, a punishment doth prove;
But of all paines there's no such paine,
As 'tis to love, and not be lov'd againe.

Till sixteen, parents we obey,
After sixteene, men steale our hearts away :
How wretched are we women growne,
Whose wills, whose minds, whose hearts are ne're our owne!”

IV, 1.

The only remaining lyric is devoted to an ingenious conceit quite in Cowley's manner.

“ The merry waves dance up and downe, and play,
Sport is granted to the Sea.
Birds are the queristers of the th' empty ayre,
Sport is never wanting there.
The ground doth smile at the Spring's flowry birth,
Sport is granted to the earth.
The fire it's cheering flame on high doth reare,
Sport is never wanting there.
If all the elements, the Earth, the Sea,
Ayre, and fire, so merry bee;
Why is man's mirth so seldome, and so small,
Who is compounded of them all?”

I, 1.

The satire in the play is delivered by the melancholy Alupis. He attacks various follies of the city and its inhabitants. The following may serve as a specimen.

“ *Callidora*: Why art thou madde?

Alupis: What if I bee?

I hope 'tis no discredit for me, Sir?
For in this age who is not? I'll prove it to you:
Your Citizen, hee's madde to trust the Gentleman
Both with his weares and wife. Your Courtier,
Hee's madde to spend his time in studying postures,
Cringes, and fashions, and new complements;
Your Lawyer, hee's madde to sell away
His tongue for money, and his Client madder
To buy it of him, since 'tis of no use
But to undoe men, and the Latine tongue;

Your Schollers, they are madde to breake their braines,
 Out-watch the Moone, and look more pale then shee,
 That so when all the Arts call him their Master,
 Hee may perhaps get some small Vicaridge,
 Or be the Usher of a Schoole; but there's
 A thing in blacke called Poet, who is ten
 Degrees in madnesse above these; his meanes
 Is what the gentle Fates please to allow him.
 By the death or mariage of some mighty Lord,
 Which hee must solemnize with a new Song
 Lovers are worst of all;
 Is 't not a pretty folly to stand thus,
 And sigh, and fold the armes. and cry my *Coelia*,
 My soule, my life, my *Coelia*, then to wring
 One's state for presents, and one's brayne for Sonnets?
 O! 'tis beyond the name of Phrenzie." I, 1.

The keenest satire is directed against physicians. When Callidora asks Alupis to cure her disease, he answers :

" I turne Physitian?
 My Parents brought me up more piously,
 Then that I should play booty with a siknesse,
 Turne a consumption to men's purses, and
 Purge them, worse then their bodyes, and set up
 An Apothecarie's shop in private chambers;
 Live by renew of close-stooles and urinals,
 Deferre off sick men's health from day to day
 As if they went to law with their disease.
 No, I was borne for better ends, then to send away
 His Majestie's subjects to hell so fast,
 As if I were to share the stakes with Charon." I, 1.

Apparently no allegorical nor local allusions were intended in *Love's Riddle*. The play represents a boy's conception of Sicilian life, based on his reading of Theocritus and the Italian or French pastoral romances, with a slight element of his own added from observation of country life.

Astraea, or True Love's Myrrour,¹ was printed in the year 1650. The author, Leonard Willan, was a friend of the poet

¹*Astraea, or True Loves Myrrour*. A Pastoral composed by Leonard Willan, Gent London, 1651. There is also an edition of 1650 which I have not been able to examine.

Herrick, but little else is known about him. His literary work consists of two dramas, a translation from Æsop and a political treatise. *Astraea*, his earliest work, is an attempt to weave certain episodes from D'Urfé's *Astrée* into a connected drama. The plot is very complex, being devoted to the various adventures of six pairs of lovers. To give a general idea of this rare play, we will trace the fortunes of the principal characters, Celadon, the faithful shepherd, and Sylvander, the heart-free shepherd.

Prefixed to the play is the following elaborate direction for the stage:—

“The frontespiece is a wreath of fresh Foliage, much like the entrance into a close Alley, the tops whereof interlac'd, represent the perfect figure of an Arch; at whose intersection is a kind of knot, whereon is enscribed in letters of gold, FOREST: over which two little Cupidons by either hand support a Garland little distant from the same. At either foot hereof is plac'd on little pedestals the figure of a Shepherd and Shepherdess; the one in a pretty posture, merrily playing on a Flute, the other very intently ording her scatter'd flowers in form of a Garland. To which succeeds, in prospective order, close united Trees, which by degrees o'retop each other, the former not much exceeding the height of a man, through which the sight is conveyed to a very fair Palace; at foot whereof runneth a winding stream; the Canopy of the whole a Serene Skie.

“The Scene being a pretty while discovered, appears at far end thereof a shepherdess, with a little Dog parried in Ribbons of several colours; when sodainly, privately within, are heard sundry voices, one answering the other, till each have sung his part: at the end whereof all joyn their voices; each voice is so ordered as may seem far distant from the Auditors, and a like distant from each other.”

After the song of the shepherds, *Astraea* the heroine enters, and in a monologue declares the superiority of reason over love. Her lover, Celadon, appears, and she accuses him of loving another. He asserts his innocence, but she interrupts his defence and bids him “never more come nigh till bid.” Celadon in despair throws himself into the river. *Astraea*, in her efforts to save him, also falls into the river, and both are swept away by the current. *Astraea* is rescued by Lycidas, the brother of Celadon. In their search for the lost shepherd

they find his hat floating on the waves. Within the lining is sewed a letter which proves Celadon's faithfulness to Astraea.

Meanwhile Celadon has been rescued by the princess Galatea and her nymph Leonida. Celadon remains true to Astraea and writes to her a letter beseeching her to revoke her sentence. Finding Sylvander asleep he puts the letter beside him. Leonida entreats her uncle, the priest Adamas, to help Celadon. Adamas consults the oracle and is commanded to unite Celadon to his mistress. But Celadon refuses to disobey Astraea's command. As a last resort Adamas disguises Celadon as his daughter Alexis. When Astraea comes to the temple to mourn for Celadon's death, she meets her lover whom she supposes to be Alexis. Celadon is overjoyed by the affection displayed by Astraea, but he dares not reveal his identity: Leonida comes to his aid. "With a book of characters in one hand, and a bough in the other," she invokes the gods to change Alexis to Celadon. Celadon throws off his disguise, but Astraea, incensed by the trick played on her, dismisses him forever.

"Haste thee from mine Eye
Unto thy Ruine, hence away and die."

Celadon takes this command literally, and goes into the wilderness to seek a violent death.

Sylvander, after giving the letter to Astraea, meets the shepherdess Diana with a merry company of nymphs. To while away the time Sylvander is commanded to counterfeit love for Diana. Soon he begins to love her in earnest. He consults the oracle and receives the following reply:—

"Thy present lls e're long shall end;
But Her thou woul'st, Paris shall wed.
To thy Desires do not pretend,
Untill such time Sylvander's dead."

This the shepherdesses interpret to mean that Paris, the priest's son, shall marry Sylvander to Diana, and that Sylvander shall die by giving his heart to Diana.

Paris, however, hearing the oracle, interprets it literally and seeks Diana in marriage. Her parents accept his suit, and Diana is forced by the Arcadian laws to obey them. Sylvander yields to authority and bids farewell forever to Diana. He goes into the desert to seek death by the lions who guard the fountain of Love. Here he meets Celadon heart-broken at Astraea's bitter words. They decide to sacrifice themselves; for tradition says that on the death of "the two perfectest lovers" the fountain will be freed from magic spell.

Astraea soon forgives Celadon, and with Diana she also seeks death at the fountain of Love. Near the fountain the two shepherdesses fall into an enchanted sleep. Here the priest Adamas finds them. Close at hand lie Celadon and Sylvander apparently dead. The enchantment, however, is broken and the lions turned to stone. A voice from the fountain bids the priest bear away the corpses and come the next day for the final oracle.

On the following day the lovers revive and the oracle gives Astraea to Celadon, but denies Sylvander's suit:—

"Sylvander must no longer live
To Paris I Diana give
And Adamas my just command
Bids that he die by thine own hand."

Adamas is on the point of sacrificing Sylvander when he notices on his arm a mark which proves him to be his son Paris. The shepherd who has gone under the name of Paris is discovered to be Ergaste, the brother of Diana. So the oracles are fulfilled amid universal rejoicings.

In general, the dramatization shows little skill. Many links in the chain of events are omitted, and far too many minor characters are introduced. Many episodes which are fitting enough in the romance—such as the various courtships of the fickle Hylas—are absurd in the condensed drama. In fact one must be familiar with the romance to understand

the drama. A few of the songs are original with Willan, but the oracles and the letters are literally translated from D'Urfé. The incidents and dialogues are also taken direct from the romance, though of course Willan had to paraphrase the thought in order to fit his metre, which is the rhymed heroic couplet.

The underlying meaning of the romance is of course lost. D'Urfé represented the adventures of real persons under the guise of a pastoral romance, and consequently his work excited the liveliest interest. It is scarcely conceivable that the same incidents would apply to the English court, even if the play was written before the execution of Charles I.

The poetic talent of Willan was of an inferior order, and it is difficult to understand how his drama passed through three editions in fifteen years. This success shows the great charm which was exercised on the readers of the day by the famous original. In dramatizing a successful romance, Willan followed a practice common down to our own days, and which usually succeeds in spite of the most serious defects. *Astraea* represents the only English play taken directly from a pastoral romance which strictly preserves the pastoral atmosphere.

Sir William Lower, the author of *The Enchanted Lovers*,¹ was more famous as a soldier and courtier than as a writer. He fought with distinction in the army of Charles I., and after the failure of the Royalist cause took up his residence abroad. Here he spent his leisure in translating and adapting six dramas from the French of Corneille, Scarron and Quinault. In the midst of this work, he produced *The Enchanted Lovers*, which has been regarded by most critics as an original play. *The Enchanted Lovers* has few points of resemblance to other English pastoral dramas.

The story of the play is as follows: Celia, the heroine, fleeing from the lust of Nearchus, the king's favorite, is ship-

¹ *The Enchanted Lovers. A Pastoral.* By Sir William Lower, Knight. . . . Hage, 1658. Part of this edition was bound up in London, with a new title-page, bearing the date 1661.

wrecked on the Island of Erithrea. She is rescued by Melissa, a princess, who rules the Island. Celia is admitted into the confidence of the princess, but she cannot forget her sorrows. In order to indulge her grief, she feigns to be in mourning for a lost brother. Under this mask she is enabled to lament her lover, Cleagenor, and to keep at a distance the amorous shepherds of the island. Meanwhile Cleagenor has challenged Nearchus to a duel, and inflicted on him a mortal wound. This arouses the anger of the king, and Cleagenor is obliged to flee for his life. After seven years of wandering he finds a refuge in the Island of Erithrea. Here he lives under an assumed name and in the disguise of a shepherd. Celia does not recognize him at first, but when he reveals his identity her old love returns. The lovers are afraid to declare their love because Cleagenor is beloved by the princess, and Celia is sought after by a shepherd of the Island. Consequently they decide to pass themselves off as brother and sister. The princess rejoices that Celia has found her long lost brother, and begs Celia to help in her own match with Cleagenor. Everything goes well until a merchant from Seville, the home of Celia and Cleagenor, recognizes the lovers, and demands that Cleagenor be delivered up to the king. Melissa is overwhelmed with anger and shame.

“How both of you abuse me
 With an imposture form'd under false names
 To carry on your love in a disguise,
 Insolent wretches!
 I'll sacrifice you both to my disgrace
 In such a manner that ye shall repent
 Eternally that er ye made me blush.”

She punishes the lovers by putting them under a magic spell. First, Celia sickens and Cleagenor endures the agony of seeing her die; then Celia revives and witnesses the death struggles of Cleagenor. So the torture continues day after day. At length the people of the Island, indignant at the cruel punishment imposed on the lovers, implore the princess

to remove the spell. This she is unable to do. Finally the goddess Diana interferes. She degrades Melissa, and gives her kingdom to another. Then she dissolves the magic spell and unites Cleagenor and Celia.

The most interesting character in the play is Ismenia (the heart-free shepherdess), who is instrumental in bringing Cleagenor and Celia together, and who aids Parthenia, the niece of the princess, in her love affair with Clidamant. Ismenia's playful treatment of her lovers, and especially of Thimantes (whom she finally marries) form the most amusing scenes of the play.

The Enchanted Lovers lacks action and dramatic situations. The best scene is at the end of the fourth act, where Melissa learns the deception of the lovers. This passage illustrates Lower's poetic talent at its best.

"O misfortune

Not to be parallel'd? What shall I do?
 Of whom should I take counsel in this case?
 Shall I hear yet my love that murmureth?
 Ought I to suffer, or repel the injury?
 It is resolv'd in my offended heart
 That those black Passions shal succeed my love,
 By which the soul, when in disorder, breaks
 The chain wherewith she's ti'd. Break forth my fury,
 And ruine these ingratefull. They shal know
 My power, as they have seen my goodness to them:
 They shal not mock at my simplicity,
 Nor reproach me for my credulity,
 How! treacherous Cleagenor, oh! that name
 Cleagenor combats yet within my heart,
 In its defence, my spirits at this name
 Are wavering, and my anger's weak; my hate
 Is in suspense: I am not pleas'd with that
 Which I demand; I fear what I would most.
 Ha, traitor, must I to torment myself,
 Suspend my judgment upon thy destruction?
 Must I dispute the case within myself
 As doubtful to determine. No, pass sentence
 Against him for this barbarous affront.
 Arm my despair, and inspire thou my rage
 And let me see how faithfully my Art

Will serve my vengeance in the punishment
 Of these ingratefull Lovers, I intend not
 To give a sudden death to either of them,
 But they shal suffer that which shall be worse :
 By the effect, and strange force of my charms,
 They shal have, without dying, every day
 A thousand deaths; both of them shal see each other
 To die and to revive. This punishment
 Is strange and cruell; but 'tis that I use
 In my revenges; come, why loiter we
 In our design? my heart like flint shal be
 Insensible of their calamity."

IV, 6.

The characters in the play do not conform very closely to the traditional types. Almost all are courtiers masquerading as shepherds. The disguise is often laid aside, and many scenes do not in any way show pastoral influence. Yet in general the pastoral predominates over the court atmosphere. The scene is certainly Arcadian in spirit. A shepherd thus describes his island home :—

..... "Here ambition
 Hath no imployment; if at any time
 We sigh here, 'tis for love, no other passion
 Is seen among us; though this Island be
 A part of Portugal, we have our laws,
 And Empire to our selves; she that rules here
 Hath not the name of Queen, we subjects are
 Our Sovereigns companions, and her vertue
 Makes us to taste so much repose, that she
 Hath put the Sheephooke into the hands of
 A hundred Hero's, who wearied with Laurels,
 And the noise of the war, are here retir'd
 From the four corners of the World: she rules
 So sweetly, that crime only feels her anger."

I, 1.

In regard to supernatural characters, Lower disregards tradition. No satyrs nor nymphs appear on the scene, and no mention is made of them; the goddess Diana, instead of exhibiting her will by oracles, appears in person and takes part in the action. *The Enchanted Lovers* suggests that the pastoral influence was on the wane; for Lower, though he

had a truly Arcadian scene, and characters and incidents, which almost demanded pastoral treatment, failed to give a general impression consistent with tradition.

During the Restoration period a few of the old pastoral plays were revived, but they were not popular, and the dramatists turned their attention to other fields. It was not until the year 1720 that a strictly pastoral play was written. In this year, however, John Gay composed *Dione*, a pastoral tragedy. Gay's attitude toward pastoral literature was a peculiar one. At the instance of Pope he wrote *The Shepherds' Week*, a parody on the pastoral eclogues of Ambrose Philips. Though professedly written in ridicule of pastoral poetry, this may be regarded as "a genuine work of pastoral art." Certainly in many of Gay's poems and in his pastoral drama there is no trace of parody or burlesque. Gay follows the pastoral tradition as closely as any poet in the language. In the prologue of *Dione*, he says,

"Our author
..... draws no Hemskirk boors, or home-bred clowns,
But the soft shepherds of Arcadia's downs."

Dione was never acted, nor indeed was it written for stage representation. It was printed with some poems in a small volume, and it was well received by the public. The drama is devoted to the working out of a very simple plot. *Dione* (the faithful shepherdess) is deserted by her lover, Evander. Her father attempts to force her into a marriage with Cleanthes, but she flees into the country and becomes a shepherdess. Here she finds Evander, who has taken the disguise of a shepherd in order to court Parthenia, the heart-free shepherdess, who has already by her disdain caused the death of Menalchus. *Dione*, by the advice of her friend Laura, disguises herself as a shepherd boy and seeks to wean her false lover from his new love. Evander, however, sends her to woo Parthenia for him. Parthenia rejects Evander's suit, but conceives a friendship for the supposed boy. Evander's

jealousy is aroused and he begins to suspect his innocent companion.

Meanwhile Cleanthes also has come into the country to seek Dione. He is robbed and murdered by some outlaws. With his last breath he reproaches Dione for the sorrows she has brought upon her father and friends. Dione overhears his words and in despair seeks to take her life. Parthenia prevents her, and seeks to find out the cause of her grief. Evander discovers them together and, suspecting Dione of treachery, he stabs her to the heart. Dione in her last words reveals her identity. Evander, filled with remorse, takes his own life.

The character of Dione resembles, in some respects, Clarindo in *Hymen's Triumph*, while Menalchas, a shepherd who dies because of Parthenia's disdain, suggests Colin in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Two scenes are imitated from Cervantes (see the story of Marcella in *Don Quixote*, Part II, Chap. XIII). In attempting a pastoral tragedy, Gay tried a new experiment with not the happiest results. We have seen how all the other dramatists adopted the form of tragic-comedy as the appropriate form for the development of a pastoral story. Gay violated the traditions deliberately. He says in the prologue:—

“No trumpet's clangour makes his heroine start,
And tears the soldier from her bleeding heart.
He, foolish bard, nor pomp nor show regards,
His lovers sigh their vows. If sleep should take ye
He has no battles, no loud drum to wake ye.
What, no such shifts? there's danger in 't, 'tis true,
Yet spare him, as he gives you something new.”

Whether a good tragedy can be constructed on a pastoral theme is doubtful; at all events, Gay did not succeed in the attempt. The ending of his play violates all artistic canons, especially in leaving no implied future for Parthenia and Laura save to spend the rest of their days mourning for Dione.

Gay preserves strictly the pastoral coloring except in the character of Cleanthes, who plays a very subordinate part in

the action. One of the best innovations is the introduction of descriptive passages, such as the following :—

“ Now flames the western sky with golden beams,
And the ray kindles on the quivering streams;
Long flights of crows, high-croaking from their food,
Now seek the nightly covert of the wood;
The tender grass with dewy crystal bends,
And gathering vapour from the heath ascends.”

A. IV, S. 3.

In this and similar passages Gay follows the model of the pastoral eclogues, not the pastoral dramas.

Dione is written in rhymed couplets, and contains no songs in shorter measure. Some of the scenes impress one as being short poems inserted in the drama. For example, the first scene of the fourth act might have been entitled, “To his mistress asleep in a Bower.”¹ The following passage is really a poem, “On the Security of Poverty.”

“ You whose ambition labours to be great,
Think on the perils which on riches wait.
Safe are the shepherd’s paths; when sober even
Streaks with pale light the bending arch of heaven,
From danger free, through deserts wild he hies,
The rising smoke far o’er the mountain spies,
Which marks his distant cottage; on he fares,
For him no murderers lay their nightly snares:
They pass him by, they turn their steps away;
Safe poverty was ne’er the villain’s prey.
At home he lies secure in easy sleep,
No bars his ivy-mantled cottage keep;
No thieves in dreams the fancy’d dagger hold,
And drag him to detect the buried gold;
Nor starts he from his couch aghast and pale,
When the door murmurs with the hollow gale.”

On the whole it is scarcely unjust to characterize this drama as a series of pastoral eclogues bound together with a slight thread of narrative.

Gay’s pastoral tragedy completes the attempts of the English dramatists to nationalize the foreign pastoral. The later

¹ Other examples occur in III, 1, and IV, 5.

dramatists, who portrayed rural life, sought inspiration from the country scenes about them, and produced such plays as Ramsey's *Gentle Shepherd*, or devoted their efforts to operas containing rural or forest scenes; but the visionary shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral tradition disappear from dramatic literature,—never in all probability to return.

There is little to add in conclusion, save by way of summary. The pastoral influence, a foreign mode of idealization in rural portrayals, began at an early date to affect the English drama. At first the pastoral element was combined with, and subordinated to, other elements, such as the "mythological," the "forest," or the "court" elements. These elements, distinct from the pastoral in origin and general characteristics, brought in various incongruities. To some plays, however, the diverse dramatic materials added movement and interest. Typical examples of these "mixed" forms were Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, in which the mythological element overshadows the pastoral; Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, in which the forest element predominates; and Forde's *Love's Labyrinth*, a drama combining court scenes and characters with pastoral scenes and characters. The attempts to dramatize pastoral romances, such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, did not lead usually to pastoral dramas but to dramas reflecting mainly court life. With Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* a series of strictly pastoral plays began, and between 1603 and 1660 eleven plays of this type appeared, most of which followed more or less closely Italian models. The pastoral drama did not appeal to Restoration or to later dramatists, Gay's *Dione* being a unique revival of an obsolete fashion. Of the twelve English plays which may be safely classed as pastoral, six were written for court representation. The pastoral drama failed, however, to attain the popularity at the court which had been won in former times by the allegorical plays of Lyly. The court preferred the elaborate daintiness of the masque, a form supported by the genius of Ben Jonson and the ingenuity of Inigo Jones. With the general public, the pastoral drama

was still less successful: many of the plays were presented only once before an audience, and some were not acted at all. All of the English pastoral dramas, save Montague's *Shepherds' Paradise*, were written in rhymed or blank verse; but in only one instance, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, was any considerable poetic excellence attained. Some of the plays are redeemed by occasional passages of genuine poetry, or by satiric or allegorical significance. Historically these pastoral plays are important because they show the extreme popularity of the pastoral *motif*, and especially the extraordinary influence of Tasso and Guarini.

HOMER SMITH.